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Vol. 4

OR,

THE MEETING OF THE WAYS

AT THE

Catholic Church.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

LONDON:
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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROAD OF MAGISTRATES.

Aversion for the legal spirit of the world forms an avenue to the Catholic Church, p. 2. Ancient comparison between the lawyer without faith and the enemy of the human race, 4. The evils of this character supply a lesson, 7. Signals on the way, by observing that Catholicity moderates the influence which drives men to secular courts, 11; that it interferes with the extension of the legal profession, 17; that it denies the omnipotence of law, 19; that it produces noble traitors, 20; that it prefers equity to law, 21; that it sanctions and sanctifies the profession of the law, 23; that it gives it supernatural authority, 26; that by rejecting fatalism it gives it consistency, 26. Avenue by the love shown for the Catholic Church in the ancient European legislation, 29. Signals, by observing that it caused law to protect religious foundations, 31; that it infused a generous spirit into law, 33; that the objection founded on the Inquisition is invalid, 38; that the interests of law require holy manners in its ministers, 41; and that Catholicity supplies them, 43; that in this respect Protestantism and infidelity present a contrast.

CHAPTER II.—p. 51.

THE ROAD OF WARRIORS.

Avenue to the Catholic Church by the love of peace, which is natural to man, 56. Signals on the way, by observing the sentiments even of Pagans, 56; and the misery of war, 58; that wars are inevitable, and that history proves this, 59; by impressions of horror produced by war, 63; by observing that Catholicity loves peace, 66; that heresy loves war, 66; that all enemies of the Catholic Church invoke war, 67; by hearing what the Church teaches relative to the cause and sin of war, 68; by observing that she denounces the wars of kings, 69; makes pacific kings and people, 78; prevents the necessity of large standing armies, 82; that the Church distinguishes and sanctions war, 85. The Crusades, 89; by observing the general laws of war which she lays down, 92; the devout character of the soldier who is influenced by faith, 98.

CHAPTER III.—p. 106.

THE ROAD OF KINGS.

Avenue to the Catholic Church by a sense of the importance and necessity of government, 107. Signals on this way, by observing that Catholicity best supplies this want, 108; the extent of the difficulty involved in government, 109; that Protestantism and rationalism undermine it by diminishing respect, 110; that Catholicism creates respect for authority, 112; that it accepts all forms of government, 115; that it has preferences for monarchy, 116; republics and their evils, 116; that Catholicity supplies the means of satisfying the wants, correcting the evils, and removing the dangers of all governments, 123; that it enables them to confer freedom, liberty, and order, 123; that it yields security and wisdom to legislative and administrative assemblies, 124; that governments under all forms can be oppressive of liberty, 129: the evils of monarchy without faith, 132; the evils of all government without it, in regard to God—persecution of the Church, 136; the hatred against the Holy See, 137; the encroachments on the spiritual power, 146; the patience of the Church compared to that of Griseldis, 149; the injustice of such governments in regard to the temporal interests of subjects, 151; the infirmity of such governments in regard to themselves, 154; the evils in the system of their diplomacy, 157; their mutability, 164; avenue to the Catholic Church by observing governments under its influence, 166; signals by observing the Catholic theory of government, 168; its subjection to the will and rule of God, 169; that it gives liberty to the Church, 171; the ancient charters, 173; the realization of the theory; that rulers were holy, 178; the general Christian tone of their government, 180; their cooperation with the clergy, 182; the religious character of political measures, armorials, customs of courts, formulas for the reception of princes, 183; that kings honoured and protected the Church, 186; restrained the propagators of error, 187; defended churches, 188; protected manners by example and laws, 189; respected the clergy, 191; employed them in the government, 192; that

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Catholicism secures justice of government, 196; its theory of freedom, 197; justice, 198; that it denounced injustice, 202; prescribed a practical wisdom, 204; prohibited exorbitant taxation, 206; enforced mild government, 209; that the grandeur of royalty gave no offence, 213; that Catholicism forms good kings, 214; without ambition—disposed to abdicate, 216; influenced only by regard to the public good, 218; that, opposed to the principles of Catholicism on the road of government, we can find only subterfuges, despotism, licence, and barbarism, 218.

CHAPTER IV.—p. 222.

THE ROAD OF PRIESTS.

Avenue to the Catholic Church supplied by the fortuitous meeting with a priest, 222; signals, pointing to the central truth, consisting in the joy which his presence causes, 224; in the evidence of his high authoritative mission, 226; in the significative character of his exterior distinctions, 228; in the love and respect of which he is the object, 230; in the hatred and aversion of which he is the object, 233; in the control exercised by the clergy over the powerful, 239; in the disinterestedness of their motives, 242; in the character of their instruction, 245; sermons, 248; and lives, 254; in their accessory offices—in their love of peace, 256; in their defence of the poor and miserable, 257; in their humility, 260; humanity, 261; signals supplied by observing the parish priest and the presbytery, 264; the missioner, 266; the benedictions of the clergy, 268; their social and political action, 269; the character of great pontiffs, 272.

CHAPTER V.—p. 278.

THE ROAD OF THE POPE.

The analogy of nature; the foundation of the Church traced in the soil of the forest. Avenue to Catholicism by observing the necessity of a visible Church involving the necessity of the supreme see, 279; signals on this road supplied by the mysterious origin of Roman greatness, 282; by the progress of the popedom, 283; by the attempts to supersede it and recall Paganism, 284; by the action of the popedom in securing unity, 284; in forming the centre of political justice, order, and peace for nations, 288; in forming the centre of all wise and just moral discipline for the human race, 295.

CHAPTER VI.—p. 299.

THE ROAD OF PAGANS.

Avenue to Catholicism resulting from the later studies of mature life, in which men of all professions engage, 300; signals supplied to practical men on the road of Pagan learning by the traditions of primeval revelation and the testimony of reason, 301; by the accordance of the ancients with the religious doctrines of faith, 304; by their accordance with the moral lessons of the Church, 310; by the defects and insufficiencies of the Pagan traditions, morals, and philosophy, 319; by the conversion of Pagans, 324; by the sins and errors of the philosophers, 326.

CHAPTER VII.—p. 335.

THE ROAD OF HISTORIANS.

Avenue to the Catholic Church presented necessarily by history, religion itself being historical, 337; signals on this road supplied by the general import of history, 339; proving the unbroken chain of tradition, 340; identity of present Catholicism with the past, 342; the descent of truth through the middle ages, 343; signals supplied by the historic proof of the novelty of Protestantism, 346; by history corroborating the particular doctrines of Catholicism, 349; by the historic proof of the especial providence of God governing human events, 350; by historic proof of the victory of the word of God, 353; of the divine power of the Church—of the mutability of every thing else, 354; signals by the history of the saints, 358; by the love of heroic virtue, 359; facility presented by the enthusiasm which history inspires, 361; signals by the historic grandeur of Catholic themes, 363; signal, by history, proving the Church to be the source of true civilization, 366; by the character of historians themselves, 368; by their faults as superficial, 369; fanciful, 370; indifferent to religious truth, 371; careless of principles; mediæval instances, 372; Jansenists, 373; as accusers generally, 375; as immoral men, 376; as haters of Catholicity, 376; signals presented by a contrast with Catholic historians, 377.

Compitum.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROAD OF MAGISTRATES.

WITHIN forests there are other pictures besides those which are exclusively of pure nature; and it is not merely analogies and symbols, recalling the pursuits and destinies of mankind, that we find between the trees; for sometimes the very men whose spiritual wanderings we are endeavouring to trace out, present themselves to us unexpectedly, actually playing their part before our astonished eyes in this wild theatre. An instance was witnessed by the stranger, on a summer's morning, in the beautiful woods that skirt the village of Montmorency. By the side of the path, sloping down to the edge of the forest, there was a grassy mound which an immense chestnut-tree overshadowed. There, seated on the greensward, he found some peasants listening with great attention to a person who seemed by his tone of voice to be of some authority, though sitting in a friendly way in the midst of them, separated however at a little distance from the others; and, after passing the picturesque group, he learned that this was nothing less than a kind of rural court, held by the judge of the peace, to settle some dispute which had arisen within the limits of his jurisdiction. The oak in the forest of Vincennes used to witness indeed in the olden time a more august spectacle of this kind, but the sweet chestnut-tree of Montmorency could thus attest, even at the present day, that woods are not left without some vestiges of moral scenery appropriate to the title of the road which now presents itself as that of magistrates, which will lead to the Catholic Church no less directly than the other tracks that we have hitherto followed, if we only observe and duly appreciate the benefits

resulting to the science and practice of law from the influence of divine faith.

The beginning of this road cannot be generally inviting. The service-tree which delights in cold places, terrible, as Pliny says, from the rods of magistrates *, grows here on each side, along with stunted oaks indigenous in northern regions, though the wasps and hornets of a sultry season buzz in our ears, and threaten greatly to molest the wayfarer. Some however will take this road from choice, though the whole tract through which it leads may deter others; being characterized by a certain frigid aspect, every thing seeming to be dry as withered roots and husks wherein the acorn cradled. The Roman poet and his brother differed in respect to their estimate of this path; for he says,—

> " Frater ad eloquium viridi tendebat ab ævo,
> Fortia verbosi natus ad arma fori,
> At mihi jam puero cœlestia sacra placebant †."

So it may be with the reader and the stranger, who, as Cicero says, wants all forensic light, and therefore here he should invoke some guide, versed in the special matter for observation, to lead the way; and, indeed, generally as we advance through this forest, we ought to have for companion on each of the roads some one who can interpret the signs found upon it, by referring to his own individual studies and personal experience, and by reasoning on the moral decay or development of the social position in which he is especially placed, according as it is less or more influenced by Catholicity. On this road we should leave it to some man of law to speak, who is better qualified to recognize the signals and detect the openings; for at the commencement, it must be confessed, to inexperienced feet the underwood seems to be impassable, and we might think that not even light can pierce through it. The figures that precede us on this path, gliding into the gloomy wood, are dark too and disagreeable. The character of the legist from the earliest times has never been considered as presenting a soil favourable to the seeds of that divine philosophy which, in Christian ages, is only another term for Catholicism. Its opposition to the people of God can be witnessed in the letter of Artaxerxes, ordaining the destruction of the Jews. " Whereas," says the king, " I reigned over many nations, and had brought all the world under my dominion, I was not willing to abuse the greatness of my power, but to govern my subjects with clemency and lenity, that they might live quietly without any terror, and might enjoy peace, which is desired by all men. But when I asked my counsellors

* xvi. 30.

† Trist. iv. 10.

how this might be accomplished, one that excelled the rest in wisdom and fidelity, and was second after the king, Aman by name, told me, that there was a people scattered through the whole world which used new laws, and acted against the customs of all nations, despised the commandments of kings, and violated by their opposition the concord of all nations. Wherefore, having learned this, and seeing one nation in opposition to all mankind, using perverse laws, and going against our commandments, and disturbing the peace and concord of the provinces subject to us, we have commanded as follows*." The pagan persecutions of the Church were often instigated by men of this kind of wisdom and fidelity. Domitius Ulpien and Julius Paulus have left names not more imposing in the history of jurisprudence than odious in the annals of Christianity. That the virtues and equity of Ulpien should have admitted of his immolating the Christians, is however less surprising when we find that they had not prevented him from rising to legal honours by the murder of his two predecessors. Even in Christian ages there are legists who seem to have inherited somewhat of the old legal antipathy to the Catholic religion. The Church in France can refer perhaps to no reign in which she has not felt their arrows. And it is curious to observe Protestantism instinctively contracting friendship with these very men, as having saved the Gallican Church from what it terms "the arrogant pretensions and usurpations of the papal see;" counting among these the right of the holy see to collation and investiture, and among liberties the claim of the crown to the revenues of episcopal sees during vacancies, boasting that these lawyers "seem to have anticipated the Reformation;" and actually singling out for admiration from the illustrious French bar such men as Pierre Flotte and Pierre de Cugnières†, ghastly figures which are enough, we might think, to scare any one, and induce him to turn elsewhere his steps. England, before the destruction of her sanctuaries, was not wholly free from lawyers of the same class. Henry III., in the year 1239, in order to carry some injurious measure, sending one of his legists to Rome, gives occasion for the remark of Mathieu Paris, "That he kept a numerous troop of them, as a hunter keeps a pack of hounds, to let loose on the electors of prelates." Nothing is too great or too little to escape the irreverent, impious, meddling, persecuting spirit of such men. So in France, during the youth of Charles VI., we read, "Confraternitates etiam ad devotionem ecclesiarum, sanctorum, et earum ditationem introductas, in quibus cives consueverant convenire, ut simul gaudentes epularen-

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* Esther xii.

† Forsyth. Hortensius, or the Advocate, 227. 229. 331.

tur, consuerunt etiam suspendendas usque ad beneplacitum regiæ majestatis *." "O how many iniquitous laws," exclaims St. Bonaventure, "are in some cities and lands! But woe to those who keep them! woe to those who frame such laws! If these iniquitous laws are against the liberty of the Church, then their framers and writers, and all who cause them to be observed, incur the excommunication of the pope †." There is still enough in old annals to inspire jealousy and emulation in the legists who now work against Catholicism, a prey to unjust tribunals under change of times and condemnation of the ungrateful multitude. In one of the curious profound books of the middle ages, in which this evil is traced to its source, we are introduced to the nether courts, where on each occasion due deliberation is observed. "En nostre compagnie," says one of its counsellors, "avons grans juristes, et me semble que deulx devons prendre conseil pour juridiquement proceder en la matiere;" after which remark the infernal university appoints as the Procureur d'Enfer —Belial, lequel estoit grant juriste ‡.

The character of the legal struggle maintained in later times by Catholicism, appealing, without a chance of a just hearing, to the ancient principles of Christian law, seems to be prophetically related under the fearful imagery of this pleading of Belial against Jesus; and we cannot find a better prelude to our journey than what is contained in some of its most striking passages, which should be given in the original language of this old book. Moses, being appointed judge, replies to Belial, "Qui sont ceulx qui tont constitue procureur? ne sces tu pas comment tu es excommunie et tous les tiens? Cecy est notoyre par tout l'universal monde, pourquoy je nestoie pas entenu de aparoir à ta petition, car tu nas pas legitime persone, et ton principe est vicieux, c'est a scavoir, la impetration et ton rescript, veu que tu estoys excommunie, pourquoy je conclus que la citation qui est ensuivie doit estre vicieuse et pour non riens reputee. Ut in C. ipso jure. De Rescrip. li. vi." Belial replies, "Pourquoy dis tu la universite infernelle excomuniee? Mais veulx que tu scaches et entendes plus vrayement que nostre universite des diables fut bien separee davecques les anges de Dieu §." Moses then lays down certain propositions, and Belial, being asked to assent to them, refuses to answer, "Le dit Belial interrogue sur les positions dessusdictes, reffusa a respondre." The trial goes on, and the end of one stage of the proceedings is thus described: "Desquelles choses Belial fut mal content, toutetfois il

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* Religieux de S. Denis, i. 242.

† S. Bonav. de Uno Doct. Serm. ii.

‡ Proces entre Belial et Jesus par Frere Pierre Ferget.

§ Id. 21.

descendit en enfer avec la copie du proces pour demander conseil especialement des juristes [*]." The devils received Belial their procureur joyously; "Belial fut joyeusement receu de toute la compagnie d'enfer." Certian legal quibbles were recommended, "Et ainsi fut enjoinct a Belial quil poursuyvist la matière [†]." It should be remarked in the conduct of this trial, that the characteristics of the innocent and unjust parties are minutely preserved, even in regard to the faults of the former and the high qualities of the latter. Thus, when pleading before Salomon, Moses cannot restrain his indignation, and Belial remains perfectly cool, "Adoncques dist Moyse a Belial, O tresfaulx et mauvais, dys moy. Dist Belial, O Moyse soyes sage et dys ce que tu vouldras, mais devant le juge ne parle pas vitupereusement. Car je suys delibere de te ouyr pacientement [‡]." Belial then accuses our Lord of having caused not peace but war; for after quoting Isaia, "Quil sera paix universelle entre toutes gens;" and, remarking that this is prophesied of the Messiah, he adds, "Et celluy que l'on appelle Jhesus, lequel nous a fait tant de tors et de extorsions, se dit estre le dit Messyas, et toutefois il na pas donne paix, mais tousjours a eu guerre et debat—et il a dit je ne suys pas venu mectre paix mais le glayve [§]." The infernal lawyer is profound in the science of his profession. "O Belial," cries Moses, "moult fort tu te intrincques en la haultesse du droit." He knows how to procure delays when necessary to his cause. Moses seeing that Belial was confused and unable to answer, demanded that the cause should be finished. Then said Belial to the judge, "Saulve votre grace, il ne sera pas ainsi. Mais nous soit ordonne terme par le juge dedens lequel ou moy ou toy doyvons proposer exceptions, allagations ou deffences competantes a la cause." Belial, observing that the cause was going decidedly against him, descended into hell, and related the state of affairs, saying, "Jay tres grand paour que nous ne tombons en la cause dappel. Je nay plus bouche qui puisse ne saiche parler et plus ne scay que je diray, dict adoncques ung de ceux d'enfer, nomme Belzebuth, demandons le conseil des saiges, et tantost chercherent les plus grans et saiges juristes quils peurent trouver, et fut delibere entre eulx, que sils pouvoient obtenir de compromettre la cause il seroit bon, et priarent Belial quil laborast a cecy. Lequel pensa en cecy, et tantost sen alla a David, lequel il pria et flata moult doulcement quil luy plaisist de soy metre entre les deux parties et que arbitres fussent mis et la cause en compromis." Thus arbitration, transaction, compromise, false peace, all the fatal wavering hesitation and concessions of authority are to be

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[*] Id. 38. [†] Id. 39. [‡] Id. 54. [§] Id. 71.

obtained; and so David consents, saying, "Il seroit bon pour eviter les infamies et paroles des hommes que la cause soit mise en compromis." In fine, Octavian, one of the arbitrators between Christ and Belial, gives this sentence, "Pour bien de paix et de concorde, je arbitre et pour le mieux que tout le monde soit divise par le milieu et en deux parties, et que lune soit a Jhesus et laultre a enfer, et je dis cecy pour amour de la sentence doubteuse de laquelle il a este appelle;" while Jeremiah, another of the arbitrators, enters in vain his protest, which is all that can be obtained in favour of the just cause; so all that remains for this sage is to lament and deprecate the issue, "Ainsi en grande reverence il respondit a Octavien, et luy dit, Illustrissime prince, saulve vostre reverence, cecy ne seroit point bon arbitrement que la moytie du monde fust saulvee et laultre dampnee. Car par adventure en la partie que demourroit a enfer pourroit avoir de bonnes gens, et qui vouldroient plus tost adherer a la foy de Jhesus que a enfer, et seroit contre justice et equite dampner telles gens *." The book closes with some direct warning to the lawyers upon earth, whose judgment in the last day, it assures them, will be pronounced immediately after that on kings and princes; for then, "A voix de trompe et par lange de Dieu seront citez juges, advocats, juristes, procureurs, sergeants, et chicaneurs, aux quels le eternel Juge en maniere de grande feureur dira—Devant moy respondront vos peches,—car vous avez cogneu blasphemes, menteries, et deceptions, vous avez fait loys nouvelles et injustes, que vous escrissviez injustement a celle fin, que les pouvres fussent opprimez en jugement, et a grant peine a este faicte justice a mon peuple—et avez prins la substance des vesves et des pupilles †."

This mystic representation of the dangers and evils of the law agreed with the traditions respecting revelations of the other world, which were believed to have been really imparted to different persons. In the vision of Thurcill, a man who had been skilled in worldly laws was seen tormented by demons, who tore him from a seat which he had been making for himself many years by crimes. He was the first of all the most famous legists of England, but he had just died miserably. He used to sit in the king's exchequer, and receive presents from both parties. Now, on appearing, the derision and insults of the demons forced him to represent, as on an infernal theatre, the acts of his past life. Turning to right and left, engaging the one to plead, furnishing the other with arguments against them, presenting his hand to both, and then pocketing the money. After the demons had amused themselves some time watching him, the money became red hot, and he was forced to put them so into

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* Id. 172.

† Id. 269.

his mouth and swallow them. After a while, two demons came with a cart-wheel on fire, and all surrounded with sharp points; and this they turned on his back, till with the agony he was forced to spit out the fiery pieces of money, which another picked up to present to him afresh[*].

Such is the terrible imagery, however grotesque it may appear to some, which is presented at the commencement of our present road. Turning from it, however, to speak, as they will think, more seriously, we must remark, that when observed without the influence of the divine principles comprised within the Catholic faith, which change every thing, making smooth the rough ways, and the steep places plain, there is, unhappily, much truth in the estimation of the legal character, which might partly have given rise to these representations. Facts will easily explain them, and confirm what was thus presented as a supernatural testimony to the spiritual dangers of a lawyer's life. According to Cicero, between pleading and lying there is a close relationship. "Homme plaideur, homme menteur," says the French proverb. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, speaks of lawyers as being considered "a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters, as well as to wrest laws." The name by which they are distinguished in the capitularies of Charlemagne, is acknowledged to be "not very complimentary," for they are called clamatores, or clamourers. "Believe not Laudry, trust him not," shouted the voices, when Gaucelin wished to address the Vicomte d'Orbée, who had been a lawyer, on recognizing him with the other spectres in the forest. Though dead, the lawyer is the same still[†]. "I do not choose my friends among lawyers," says Louis Perez, of Galicia, to a judge who offers him his friendship; "they do not consider themselves bound by their word, and they make laws in consequence[‡]." "Deceitful sophistry is hateful," says Pindar—

> *Εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοι-*
> *οῦτον ἦθος, Ζεῦ πάτερ. Ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις*
> *ἁπλόαις ζωᾶς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανὼν ὡς*
> *παισὶ κλέος μὴ τὸ δύσφαμον προσάψω*[§].

All ages and languages agree in deprecating this character.

> "A lawyer art thou?—draw not nigh;
> Go, carry to some fitter place
> The keenness of that practised eye,
> The hardness of that sallow face."

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[*] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1206.

[†] Roman de Richart.

[‡] Calderon.

[§] Nem. 8.

The author of the Magnum Speculum would repeat the same words, if we can judge from his lines:

"Raro causidico reor esse fidem; quoque dico.
Hosti pro modico fit amicus et hostis amico *."

Law studies, uncontrolled by the power which centres in Catholicism, prepare

"The head well stored with subtle wiles."

"When one has been employed for years about the true and the false," says Timon, "and been occupied only in stitching up, as he best may, the holes in the coats of clients, through which their fraud and malice find vent, it is difficult—nay, impossible, to have any fixity of principle." Professional maxims, indeed, may not vary; they may be thought omnipotent by those who urge them. "I spoke only for my fee," said one of the regicides, who had acted as solicitor-general for the commonwealth at the trial of Charles I., "I say it was professionately." The objection, however, was over-ruled by men impressed with a new sense of social danger, and he was hanged. Without the true Christian faith, and its supernatural motives and restraints, which all heresies more or less remove, the lawyer is often one whose mind and place are infecting one another—yea, reciprocally. He is, then, still the same as he was found in the ancient world. "It is reported," says Plato, "that there is a certain art of lawyers, by means of which they can easily gain a cause, however unjust; and that one has only to pay them well to have this success. The best thing for our state is, that there should be no one skilled in this art; and if there should be such, they ought to be constrained to leave it. If a man be convicted of pleading thus, his motive should be examined—*εἴτε φιλοχρηματίᾳ δοκεῖ δρᾷν τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε φιλονεικίᾳ*; if it be through a spirit of chicanery, he should be interdicted from practising for a time; if it be through avarice, and he be a foreigner, he should be banished for ever; and if a citizen, he should be condemned to death, on account of his excessive passion for money, which he prefers to every thing else †."

This, perhaps, would be thought a very strange and dangerous doctrine in certain inns of court at present. It would not please even those who make them thrive, who can produce their legal advisers, and say of each,

——— "Here is Domine Picklock,
My man of law, sollicits all my causes,
Follows my business, makes and compounds my quarrels

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* Id. 13.

† Lib. xi. de Legibus.

> Between my tenants and me; sows all my strifes
> And reaps them too, troubles the country for me,
> And vexes any neighbour that I please*."

It would not suit the world in general; for, according to the new philosophy of life, such men are to form the majority of the educated classes, and render impossible a return to the old ideas and manners of the European civilization, when the supernatural had law upon its side. The father sends his son to the university with an eye fixed on the glory which such arts entail; for—

> "Men of that large profession that can speak
> To every cause, and things mere contraries,
> Till they are hoarse again, yet all be law!
> That with most quick agility can turn
> And re-turn, can make knots and undo them,
> Give forked counsel, take provoking gold,
> On either hand, and put it up.—These men
> He knows will thrive †."

The civilization opposed to Catholicism requires that there should be counsellors in whose judgment no claims of high spiritual truth ought to obtain legal hearing. Now return, in regard it, to the men described by Demosthenes, who will listen for hours to hear about the shadow of an ass, and who cannot bear to listen to a really grave debate; though it does not follow, perhaps, that to be reminded of judgment to come would make them tremble. Now, too, are men in robes of every tissue, and it is as well to acknowledge it in the old homely terms, who are ready and willing to burst themselves for a fee—

ἐπὶ τριωβολῳ διαῤῥαγῆναι ἕτοιμοι ‡.

For however anxious some may be to distinguish the honorarium from wages, there is danger, as D'Aguesseau admits, "of the most noble of all professions becoming the most mercenary," as in the times when St. Augustin styled the lawyer venditorem verborum §.

No dismal narratives from another world are now in circulation to control any lawyer in his quiddits, his quillets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks. Free and right honourable is he in trying his great ability—quærere nodum in scirpo—according to the practice which we find deprecated in the old Catholic literature, as in the instance related by Master Odo de Scritone, who says, "That a certain lawyer, in his last sickness, was offered the blessed eucharist, when he asked, 'Let it be first

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* Ben Jonson.

† Id.

‡ Lucian, Bis Accus.

§ Conf. ix. 5.

judged whether it be just I should receive it;' and when they said 'We judge it to be just,' he replied, 'You who are my equals cannot judge; for the law saith, Par in parem non habet imperium;' and so expired without confession, and the communion of our Lord's body. Note," adds the narrator, "that he who had always sold his tongue, could not find it when he needed it most; and that a vessel of contention did not receive the author of peace*."

Inordinate demands for payment, contrary to Catholic thoughts, memories, and hopes, become a characteristic of such jurisconsults, to whom the restraints of faith are unknown. Professional maxims supplant the sermon on the mount—

> "Causidicis fas est alienam haurire crumenam;
> Militibus, medicis, tortori occidere fas est."

The breath of an unfee'd lawyer can express the value of what heresy establishes. Honours with wealth are then the goal, as Sidonius Apollinaris indicates by saying, "More advocatorum, quorum cum finiuntur actiones, tunc incipiunt dignitates†." Under another influence, where what is called philosophy prevails, the "homo litium temporumque varietatibus exercitatus," becomes the man of political action, to whom republics and kings must yield up their authority, after revolutions, bloody and execrable, of which lawyers, then, are nearly every where the advocates and leaders. In one state, all religious reverence is to cease where lawyers congregate. The terms, say they, no longer must obey the moon; so courts proceed in holy week, as when the cruel judges met together against the Maid of Orleans —thirty-five on holy Wednesday, and nine on holy Saturday. In another, the same class of counsellors denounce, as an abuse, the refusal to open church doors, when men require that some great impenitent blasphemer should obtain the honours of a Christian burial; while Catholics, without being rapt in spirit, like St. Bridget, who heard a voice denouncing the act of the Cistercian Prior, who buried an excommunicated man, vainly invoke the canons which declare, in accordance with it, that such an act is sin against God the Father, by its accepting persons, in honour of the rich; sin against the Holy Ghost, by placing the unjust in communion with the just; and sin against the Son, by despising the Church, which he declares to be the same offence as despising himself‡.

Infidelity or heresy prevailing, sentences will be passed, recalling the great day, when in a numerous assembly of judges the most

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* Joan. Major Mag. Spec. 13.

† Lib. i. Ep. 9.

‡ Revelat. S. Birgittæ, lib. i. c. 13.

iniquitous of all sentences was delivered unanimously. Then comes forth, unawed and irresistible, the sallow lawyer, cruel and cold, like Cn. Pompey, whose only reply to the prostrate suppliant Hypsæus, was, "Nihil eum aliud agere quam ut convivium suum moraretur," which draws even from the pagan who relates it the exclamation, "What! conscious of having uttered such words, could he sup with a secure mind?" Protestantism, though it may be disagreeable to be reminded of such things, brought back the old men—

"There was the waggish Welsh judge, Jefferies—
In his grave office so completely skill'd,
That when a culprit came for condemnation
He had his judge's joke for consolation."

There was Sir Francis Page, in the purely Protestant reigns of the first two Georges, who earned for himself the title of "hanging Page." St. Isidore thunders against this type *. The prophet says of such men, he observes, "Qui convertunt in furorem judicium." Thus these judges begin with anger. But the resemblance could be traced, if possible, in worse points. "Lord Chief Justice Scroggs behaved," says Challoner, "so partially, and the jury so cowardly, at the trial of the martyr, Thomas Whitebread, that a stander-by said, if there had been a jury of Turks he would have been acquitted;" and speaking of the condemnation of Father Campion, the old reporter says, "This one day gave that assembly, and all the world, full proof of the sad fall of equity, law, conscience, and justice, together with the Catholic faith, in our poor country."

But now, leaving the men, whether counsellors of state, advocates, or magistrates, like Chinese mandarins, administering the laws of infidel and heretic times, thereby committing judicial murders with the testimony of a good conscience, let us observe rather things, and mark how the Catholic religion influences the whole domain through which this road passes.

In the first place we may remark the beneficial action of faith in causing this way to be less frequented than in times when the principles of the Catholic religion are unknown. See what a promiscuous, breathless throng is now driven along this road, though seeming to take it from free choice! Lords, lawyers, statesmen, squires of low degree, post forward, all like creatures of one kind! as Gorgo says of a road which was crowded on a festival, "Scarcely have I escaped alive from the multitude to describe it to you"—

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* De Sum. Bon. iii. 56.

——— μόλις ὔμμιν ἐσώθην,
— πολλοῦ μὲν ὄχλον, πολλῶν δὲ τεθρίππων.
παντᾷ κρηπῖδες, παντᾷ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες·
Ἁ δ᾽ ὁδὸς ἄτρυτος [*].

Catholicism being either banished, or its influence diminished, the evil which Ives de Chartres remarked in a particular instance, becomes a general result; and, as he says, "their infinite cupidity gives rise to an infinite discord [†]." All seem smitten with that Athenian passion for law-suits which Aristophanes ridicules in his "Wasps," and Racine in his "Plaideurs;" and a man would be almost held worthy of death who should dare to pretend that there ought to be neither law-suits nor judgments [‡]. Now the first issue on this track to the Church may be a disrelish for such a state of things, since Catholicism alone provides a remedy for it. "Lawyers," says St. Isidore, "for the love of their neighbour ought to desert secular business, or at least ought to follow it with charity; but since it is rare that charity should remain where there is strife, postponenda est rei causatio, ut perseveret dilectio. There should be no more heard that eloquence of the courts which the ancients called canine, to signify that lawyers, like dogs, lacerate each other [§]. It is true, in this respect, as in many others, the old philosophy would admire the results of faith. "There can be no surer mark," says Plato, "of a bad system of education in a state, than a number of skilful physicians and lawyers; for the one proves that the people contract artificial maladies from their luxurious manners, and the other that they have minds prone to litigation from the love of money [||]. Cicero, though rather with a lame gait, seems to follow him, saying, that the just man ought to be "æquum et facilem multa multis de jure suo concedentem; à litibus vero quantum liceat, et nescio an paulo plus etiam quam liceat, abhorrentem. Est enim non modo liberale, paulum nonnunquam de jure suo decedere; sed interdum etiam fructuosum [¶]." The Catholic religion necessarily prevents an immoderate development of legal proceedings by preserving in men the spirit of our divine Lord, which involves the spirit of self-renouncement and the love of enemies. Those who refuse to acquiesce in regard to that influence are considered by it as having hell's mark upon them; and where faith lasts this is already enough to thin many courts. Take unto you, says Catholicism, the whole armour of God. It does not say the whole armour of the world, the whole

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[*] Theocrit. [†] Ivon. Carnot. Epist. 216. [‡] Vesp. 410.
[§] D. Isidori de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 60.
[||] De Repub. lib. iii. [¶] De Off. lib. ii. 18.

armour of chicanery, or even of law and acts of parliament, to maintain your rights. Bucchius, therefore, showing the conformity between the rule of St. Francis and the Gospel, in which respect every other order in the Church resembled it, says, the "non-litigent of this rule is taken from the words in St. Matthew, Ego autem dico non resistere *," &c. The rule was not interpreted as binding only on the professed religious. Brother Giles used to say to all men, "Si vis salvari, non petas tibi justitiam fieri ab aliqua creatura: viri sancti bona faciunt et mala patiuntur. Si cognoscis te offendisse creatorem, et Deum omnium cognosce quia dignum est quod omnia persequantur te, et vindicent injuriam, quam fecisti domino; ab omnibus creaturis debes sustinere patienter molestias tibi factas †." Hear another piercing voice from the cloister. "Every Christian," says the Abbé de Rancé, "as a disciple of Christ, is bound to receive these words, Qui aufert quæ tua sunt ne repetas, as a command. Every Christian must be interiorly disposed to renounce every thing as much so as if he had actually abandoned its defence against the injustice of men ‡." "It may be lawful," say the monastic guides, "to seek the law's protection. Hoc autem dicimus," they add with St. Bernard, "tutius esse omni Christiano possidere quippiam minus in pace quam cum lite, amplius." The monastic, which after all was only the strict Christian rule, threw innumerable difficulties in the way of seeking legal redress. "Lest under pretence of justice," say the eremetical constitutions, "the devil should incite a brother to calumniate his brother, it is ordained, that if an accuser should fail in proving the crime, he is himself to suffer the punishment enacted for it, while the accused is to be free §." "Let every one beware," say the Dominican Constitutions, "how he accuse any brother without being able to prove the charge. If the accused deny it, and the accuser should fail in proving it, the latter must bear the penalty that the other would have incurred if guilty ||." And again, "Nullus faciat proclamationem super aliquem ex sola suspicione. Item nullus accuset de auditu, nisi dicat à quo audierit, et ille sit præsens in domo ¶." But you say and insist that all this flows only from the austere perfection of a cloister. Well; hear then the prudent and tolerant Bishop of Geneva, writing to direct a lady in the world. "How long," says St. Francis de Sales to her, "will you seek other victories besides

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* Liber aureus Conformitatum Vitæ B. Pat. Francisci ad Vitam J. C., iii.

† Id. 69.

‡ De Rancé de la Sainteté et des Devoirs de la Vie Monast. 409.

§ Const. Cerem. S. Romualdi Ord. Camald. c. 28.

|| Const. Frat. Ord. Præd. de gravi culpa.

¶ De capit. quotid.

those which our Lord obtained? He was the lawful Lord of all the world, and did He ever plead for possessions? What suit did He institute? Before what court did He cite any one? He would not even cite before the tribunal of God the traitors who crucified Him, but He invoked mercy for them. I am not superstitious; and I blame not those who plead in truth judgment and justice; but I say, I write, I cry out, and if there were need I would write with my own blood that whoever wishes to be perfect, and completely a child of Jesus Christ crucified, ought to practise his doctrine, and give his cloak to him who would take his tunic. Let the world exclaim, let the prudence of earth tear its hair, but this word should be preferred to all pretexts and excuses. Why do you not suffer that one defraud you? cried the Apostle, addressing all the Corinthians. Mark that; mark that, he says, it is a fault to plead. And why? Because they scandalize the worldly, and teach them to say, See how these Christians obey their Master! And mark too, with St. Augustin, that he does not speak of a ring, or any thing superfluous, but of the tunic and the cloak, which are necessaries. Lo, the wisdom of God! Lo, the prudence of God, which consists in the very holy and very adorable simplicity, childhood, and, to speak apostolically, in the very sacred folly of the cross! But what! exclaims human prudence. What! suffer ourselves to be trampled on, treated as a child's doll, to be stripped without a word! Yes, that is it exactly. It is not I that wish it, but Jesus Christ who wishes it. The inhabitants of Babylon understand not this doctrine, but those of Mount Calvary practise it. Oh, how severe you are become all of a sudden! I hear you say. Not all of a sudden either; for from the moment I had the grace to know the fruit of the cross this sentiment entered into my soul, and has never left it. If I have not conformed to it, my weakness was the cause; not my sentiment. The prattle and babble of the world has made me do the evil that I inwardly hated. But be it so. Be prudent, but as the serpent, which strips itself not of its clothes, but even of its skin, in order to recover its youth. How many duplicities, artifices, secular words, and perhaps lies, little acts of injustice sweet and well sugared, and imperceptible calumnies, are employed in all this train of law-suits! But you have need of all this property. You must live according to your station; and what a swarm of thoughts will be in your mind amidst these proceedings? Leave, leave the world to the worldly. And how much, after all, do you want to pass through it? But I shall lose my rank; no one but some servant will call me Madame; no one will know of what a good family you are. But what signifies it that you be of a good family in the world, provided you are of the family of God? Oh! but you would found some house of

piety? I could bear my sickness then with more gaiety? Yes. I know well your piety would make a plank for self-love to pass, so piteously is it human. The truth is, we do not love crosses unless they be of gold set with pearls and enamel. It is a rich abjection to be regarded as foundress and benefactor. Lucifer would have been content to stay in heaven on that condition. In fine, nothing is difficult with God. Follow his will. Be content with what you are left, and remain in peace to receive the superabundant benedictions of God *."

The episcopal teaching all men agrees, therefore, with the cloistral voice confirming the perfect. "Let your fraternity know for certain," says another bishop, Ives de Chartres, "that in the kingdom of Christ there is no place left for discord †." Accordingly, in point of fact, the influence of Catholicity is seen in the decline of judicial business, and in the examples of persons who seem to tell the world plainly, that through religion they will henceforth never more appear in any of its courts. The occasion is even in great part taken away for acting differently, in a country that retains faith, for there

"Tutum æs in loculis, sine lite silentia toto
Muta foro, charitas melior custodia rerum
Quam leges: ubi vivit amor peccata facessunt
Omnia: nil opus est prætore; superflua lex est ‡."

Penance, moreover, supplies in many instances the place of criminal courts. In the ninth century, for a slight theft boys were to do penance for ten days §; for burning a house or barn penance for three years was imposed ‖. At the time when King Otho went to Rome to be crowned emperor, he committed the government to his brother Henry the Palatine, who condemned a certain noble to death for robbery. Then came Daniel, abbot of Sconavia, and by his prayers obtained pardon for the noble, on condition of his entering the Cistercian order, to satisfy God by a life of penitence. Such was the origin of his conversion; and similar cases, says the historian, frequently occur, men being indebted to the order for their deliverance from the penalty of death ¶. The fourteenth article of the famous Saxon laws of Charlemagne, which appear so sanguinary, is, notwithstanding, to this effect: "Those who shall have been secretly guilty of all these crimes may escape the penalty by going spontaneously to confession to a priest, and performing the penance

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* Epist. lxvi.
† Ivon. Carn. Ep. 44.
‡ Baptist. Mant. Blasius.
§ Regino Abb. Prum. De Eccles. Discip. lib. i.
‖ Id.
¶ Cæsar Heisterb. i. 31.

he enjoins." Arbitration, again, rather than legal judgments, result from the influence of faith. Themistocles used continually to reprove Aristides before the people for terminating all suits as judge and arbitrator, having by these means really abolished all the courts, and so imperceptibly raised up a tyranny. The sovereign pontiff, the Catholic bishop, abbot, monk, and parish priest, is obnoxious to the same accusation. Thus St. Peter, II.nd archbishop of Tarentaise, was called in to arbitrate between innumerable parties. For this purpose he was employed by Pope Eugene III. in 1153. In 1156 he arbitrated between the bishop of Geneva and Count Amédée. In 1161 between two monasteries in the diocese of Geneva. Again, in 1168, between Humbert III., the dauphin, and Guignes VII., by which he prevented a war. Again, between Henry, king of England, and Louis VII. of France *. Adeymar de Monteil de Grignan, archbishop of Arles, established a society there, consisting of priests and persons of quality, to terminate the trials and quarrels of the poor, assembling one evening every week in his palace, the archbishop being the arbitrator in all contestations between the great men of the province †. In later times the same action occurs in mere profane relations. The Duchesse de Liancourt would never permit her agents to have recourse to law proceedings without first trying to finish the affair by arbitration. In France, indeed, it was proposed at one time to levy a fine on all who engaged in law-suits unless the issue should prove the justice of their cause. " Quicumque litem orditur, dependito in fiscum regium duos aureos; recipiendos si jure litigasse judicetur; sin aliter omittendos ‡. In Rome, the Fathers of the Oratory used to make it their business to find out the cause of whatever discord came to their knowledge, which being discovered they used all their arguments that could persuade, and in a manner compel the dissenting parties to terms of agreement §.

But occasions, it is true, will continue under all circumstances; and men will refuse an amicable agreement, and then Catholicism produces those admirable acts of sacrifice and self-renouncement which dispense with the offer of legal redress. We find early instances. " Eutropia, if you will believe me," says Sidonius Apollinaris, " computes it a victory, if after losses she does not litigate—victoriam computat, si vel post damna non litiget ||." Adrien Heninus, of Antwerp, ordered these lines to be inscribed on his tomb :—

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* Chevray, Vie de S. Pierre.

† Du Port, Hist. de l'Eglise d'Arles, 271.

‡ I. Lips. Mon. Polit. lib. ii. c. 10.

§ Pietas Romana, 86.

|| Lib. vi. Ep. 2.

"Præcepit tabulis, ne quisquam pragmaticorum
Se comitaretur, quamvis vicinus, humandum.
Quippe citatus erat nunquam, nec is ipse citârat
In vita quemquam, non vult post fata cieri *."

Sir Thomas More makes the absence of advocates one of the characteristic features of his Utopia—"they have no lawyers among them," a state not so purely imaginary of old as it would now appear; for the chancellor L'Hospital showed that in France, before the establishment of permanent parliaments, and the custom of processes by writing, not only was chicanery unknown, and the title of pleader a disgrace, but also that the number of trials was so small that the grass grew in the court of the palace of justice in Paris as it did in the green fields. Marinæus Siculus would lead us to suppose that the Spanish cities, while distinguished by the splendour of their nobility and the wealth of their merchants, did not hold out more encouragement to men of law. "This city of Valentia," he says, "observes a holy order of living well. By means of its virtuous manners and its most holy institutions, the peace and concord of the citizens remain inviolable. This city, indeed, has always detested strife and litigation †." Faith universally reigning would bring back the golden age in each city—

"Sponte suâ, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat.
—— nec supplex turba timebat
Judicis ora sui sed erant sine judice tuti ‡."

Even as the world is constituted, its effects would be widely manifested on this road. St. Jerome says that the judges used to sit in the gate of Jewish cities lest husbandmen should be compelled to enter cities and undergo expense; and therefore the judges sat there, that the rustics might not be detained. Such would be the character of Catholic courts if the influence of faith, to any great extent, predominated. We have an instance in what Blackstone styles the lowest, and at the same time the most expeditious court of justice known to the law of England, the Court of Piepoudre—Curia pedis pulverizati; so called from the dusty feet of the suitors. The hall of lost steps would lose its signification, and riches would hold out no lure upon the road of those who cause it to be now so thronged. In one of the mysteries of the middle ages, the lawyer who makes over the property of the host and hostess to their servant demands for his fee only a franc. "I cannot," he says, "have less than a franc §." Cæsar of Heisterbach places among the

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* Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c.

† De Reb. Hispan. lib. iii.

‡ Met. i.

§ Un Miracle de N. D. de Saint Jehan le Paulu.

avaricious who suffer penal woe, those lawyers who receive larg salaries *. The numbers occupied with such affairs, and eve their position in the social scale, seem greatly to depend upo the greater or less influence of Catholicity, which always has tendency to change the ministry of the tongue, and inspire me with reluctance for studying, not the law of God, not the peac of God, but, as St. Augustin says, forensic wars, that others ma purchase from their lips arms for their fury †. In the provinc of Old Castille were 5564 monks, but only 619 lawyers ; i Navarre, 1120 monks, and 172 lawyers ; in Catalonia, 396 monks, with 289 lawyers. In England the proportions, i Catholic times, were probably not more in favour of the bar The Seigneur de Parchemin, as the French designated the law lord, was not deemed an adequate substitute for the mitred abbot, either in town or country, in parliament, or in the courts The Holy See, perhaps, is remembered by some as being of old a lukewarm friend to lawyers, and not more loved in consequence. Pope Innocent IV. complained of the new importance which lawyers were ascribing to themselves in his time. "No one now," he says, "is advanced to dignities unless he be a lawyer ; whereas such men, on the contrary, ought to be repulsed, unless some things besides, very different from their characteristics, should plead for them. We feel deep affliction," he continues, "that the disciples of philosophy should be forced by absolute want to fly and hide themselves like birds of night, while these lawyers, or rather these devils, clothed in purple, mounted on horses richly caparisoned, should show themselves as they do every where, like heirs of Lucifer; for thus we see verified what a pagan predicted, saying, All things of nature will be sacrificed to the study of laws. Slaves possess thus the pre-eminence. Wishing therefore to apply a remedy to this evil, in order that men may apply more fully to the study of theology, which shows the way of salvation, or at least to the philosophic sciences, which, though alien to piety, inflame nevertheless the mind with a desire of knowledge, and banish cupidity, which is the root of all evils and the servant of idols, we decree that henceforth no lawyer be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities ‡." The old English historian, too, remarks generally writing under a similar impression, that "the liberal arts are studied for themselves, but laws to acquire salary §." Philosophers, however, found no great obstacle in such passages to intercept their progress to Catholicity ; for hear how they speak. "The jus civile," says Leonardus Arretinus, "has no tendency to make a man good. Moreover, such mercenary pursuits are

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* Rer. Illust. &c. lib. xi. c. 45.

† Conf. ix. 2.

‡ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1258.

§ Id. ad ann. 1254.

not decorous in great or illustrious men; therefore those who are eminent in nobility or fortune, repute a doctorship in laws rather as a disgrace and ignominy. Whereas, such is the dignity of learning, that no prince or king thinks it beneath him to cultivate it*." And again; "the legal study is separated from all other learning—nec de ullo me legisse memini vel ex veteribus, vel ex modernis, qui idem fuerit jurisconsultus et philosophus, vel jurisconsultus et poëta †." A jurisconsult, if he attempts to dispute on philosophy, makes himself ridiculous to philosophers. I do not say that lawyers may not learn some precepts of philosophy, but that they cannot pronounce an opinion on such matters without rashness, since they can never have more than a very superficial knowledge of such things ‡.

But now we come to another opening. For is the law omnipotent? Yes, replies the world; and accordingly, in point of fact, it is acknowledged to have been so. "If ever there was a despotism complete in itself, pure, unsophisticated, dephlegmated, defæcated despotism, it was that of an Athenian court of judicature §." The Roman imperial legists were not in fault if the courts in which they practised differed from it. The law, the very letter of the law, say they, is omnipotent. Not so the Catholic Church. Faith requires distinctions here, and with its non licet, and non possumus, restrains the power of all human tribunals. Here then is another issue to behold the majesty and truth of the Catholic religion. The history of Christianity, from the first page, bears witness to the resistance offered to such pretensions. The apostles and martyrs taught by their example a lesson on this point which no one could mistake. St. Basil says, that even all the oaths of princes which tend to the ruin of their subjects, or of the churches, are invalid ||. The old Christian Charlemagne evinces in his laws how deeply he felt the importance of the principle from which this opposition to law may arise. "One ought," he says, "to interrogate clergy and laity respecting the mutual obstacles which they may cause to their respective administrations. One should examine how far a bishop or abbot may take part in secular affairs, and how far a count, or other lay man, in ecclesiastical matters. One should examine carefully the application to be given to the Apostle's words: "None of these who combat in the militia of God should engage in affairs of the world; and this examination is necessary in order that no clerk or layman should be required to do what is not lawful for them, and in order that no one may demand of us what we cannot grant." The laws of the world, in later times, under the influence of Protestantism and the phi-

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* Leonardi Arret. Epist. i. lib. vi. 6. † Id. lib. x. 24. ‡ Id.
§ Metche's "Wasps" of Aristoph. || Ep. 2. ad Amphil. c. 29.

losophy allied with it, have affected to disown such distinctions; and Catholicity alone, by maintaining them, has maintained its inalienable titles to pre-eminence and freedom. Her pontiffs, her heroes, have been tried and found guilty in these courts of this new "conspiracy for good *," in the same way as Daniel was accused and brought to judgment as a transgressor of the great law, and guilty of high treason †. "Anselm of Canterbury," says Milton, "to uphold his prelatism, made himself a traitor to his country." Nearly all the Catholic occupants of that see were in this sense traitors. The noblest spirits of Catholicism have been defied by legists and men of violence in words like those of the giant Harapha to Samson—

> "With thee! a man condemn'd, a slave inroll'd
> Due by the law to punishment!"

From the eighty-seventh year of our era, when, by the first regular edict against Christians, their dissent was assimilated by Domitian to the crime of high treason, to the present hour, treason and traitor are the epithets applied to highest achievement as to highest men inspired by the Catholic religion, while the Church calmly replies, like the ancient chorus to Theoclymenes—"Noble treason, which remains faithful to justice."

καλήν γε προδοσίαν δίκαια δρᾶν ‡.

Thomas Bullaker, the martyr, in the time of Charles I., when called a traitor, replied, "Had the kingdom no other kind of traitors, it would be in a far better condition than it is at present;" at which words the court was silent.

With Catholics alone are such treasons and such traitors found, while the courts of the world denounce the act and proclaim the men conspirators. The Calvinist rebels of France styled the noble Duke de Guise, the Connétable de Montmorency, and the Maréchal de Saint-André, "les triumvirs conjurés."

"Yes—such men conspire, if you will; but with God and his holy angels. You have conspired," says Pentheus in the tragedy—

ξυνέθεσθε κοινῇ τάδ' ἵνα βακχεύητ' ἀεί.

"Yea," replies the accused, "I have conspired, and with God"—

καὶ μὴν ξυνεθέμην, τοῦτό γ' ἴσθι, τῷ Θεῷ §.

Whether it be the act of parliament, the voice of the people, or

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* Cicero pro Domo suâ. † Rupert. de Vict. Verb. Dei, vii. 17.
‡ Helen. 1634. § Bacch. 808.

the decree of the autocrat, that is cited against them, Catholics, on such occasions, have the same answer. "Dominus dissipat consilia gentium; reprobat autem cogitationes populorum, et reprobat consilia principum. Consilium autem Domini in æternum manet; cogitationes cordis ejus in generationem et generationem*."

Again, through the natural preference of equity, representing what is divine in judgment, to statute law, may we be led towards the Church which evinces the same predilection; for in this respect she inclines more to the wisdom of the ancients, which often prevailed against the legist, than to the modern ideas, which would always invest the latter with omnipotence. Quintus Flavius, about to be condemned, owed his deliverance to the reply of his accuser, Valerius, that he cared not whether he perished innocent or guilty, provided he perished. The violence of that expression turned the voices against the accuser—victoriamque in ipsa victoria perdidit. C. Cosconius, clearly guilty, was nevertheless acquitted, because he recited some verses of his accuser, Valerius Valentinus, in which he spoke of his arts of seduction as a poetic joke. The sons of T. Cloelius, suspected of parricide, were acquitted, for the reason that they were found sleeping in an adjoining room; the judges deeming it incredible that they could have slept over the blood and wounds of their father†. Between fas and jura, the modern civilization has no difficulty in deciding: or rather, the former, representing the divine law, seems to be often considered as something wholly obsolete, society being resolved to submit only to laws of its own enactment, though of these it may be truly said, that law itself is sometimes perfect wrong. "It was particularly from the Ghibelline period," says Frederick Schlegel, "that the Roman law became a favourite science, and its study a new mania among the European nations." These artificial forms of rigid law, however they might suit the purposes of the Ghibelline Fredericks, were little congenial to the spirit of Christianity. The Catholic Church followed not this progress, but continued to repeat the lessons of her ancient doctors; as when Tertullian declares that it is in equity that the criterion of good laws must be henceforth sought, and not in strict law. "What force?" observes Troplong, "did Christianity add to the efforts of these philosophers, who, under its influence, began the contest between law and equity‡." So opposed to the worship of the letter was Christian law, that a clerk, who had sworn to obey his bishop, was not considered bound to keep his oath, if his bishop forbade him to appeal after

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* Ps. xxxii.

† Val. Max. lib. viii.

‡ Troplong, de l'Influence du Christme. sur le Droit Civil des Romains, 97.

depriving him of his benefice. In general, under the influence of Catholicity, custom and manners seem to reduce all law to equity. Antonio de Guevara therefore says, writing to the Seigneur Rodrigo Marcion, "We find a thousand times that a preud'homme of a village will judge, and decide, and govern, better than a graduate of Salamanca*." "Custom," says Pandolfini, "forms a part of law; it has long maintained with approbation many things not written in the law, and by public usage has preserved them; so that it would be deemed disgraceful to contradict them†."

In the old Catholic civilization custom constituted law, and kings respected it. When a doubt arose respecting any claim, ten notable citizens were convoked, who said simply what was the ancient usage since the memory of man; or they interrogated the older men, and the opinion which they gave confirmed the right‡. Faith will always render manners in accordance with such a system of administration. Cæsarius supplies an instance: let us hear him: "A certain abbot of a black order, as one of our abbots related to me, came to an abbot of Clairvaux, saying, 'Lord abbot, give me a reaping-hook, and I will give you a crooked staff.' The other, understanding what he wished, received him into the order, and some time after, discerning his great prudence, appointed him abbot over a house of our order. At that time the brethren of this house contended with some secular persons for certain possessions. The cause came on: the judges gave sentence in favour of the abbot and brethren. Soon afterwards, the Cellarius said secretly to the abbot, 'My lord, we pleaded well to-day, and yet you ought to know that our cause was not altogether just.' Hearing this, the abbot was greatly disturbed; but he kept silence. The next day he entered the chapter-room, proclaimed the Cellarius, and deposed him, because, consulting his avarice, he had suppressed the truth; and then, sending a messenger for the adversaries, he said to them, 'Good men, that property is yours. From this day I will make no further claim to it.' They departed with joy, and were so edified with the simplicity and justice of the abbot, that, feeling great compunction, they returned, and freely gave to the monastery the goods for which they had so long contended; which when the abbot would not consent to accept, they answered, 'My lord, whatever right we had in this property we offer in alms to God;' and then the abbot acquiesced to receive them, edifying his whole community by his simple justice§." Catholicity causes these manners to flourish even in the world.

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* Epist. lib. ii.

† La Vita Civile.

‡ Etienne Boileau, le Livre des Métiers, introduct. xxxii.

§ iv. c. 61.

In law proceedings, if the Duchesse de Liancourt found that her opponents had right on their side, or if she discovered any papers that made for them, she was the first to propose the agreement. If the parties were poor, she used to assist them with money to plead against herself, and procure the best advice; thus, in comparatively recent times, following the example of Pope Innocent III., who evinced the same magnanimous sense of equity in regard to all contestations with himself.

So far the influence of faith has been observed rather in its character of antagonism to the science and occupations of those who follow the present road; but from this point we may remark the avenue which invites them to the truth of the Catholic religion, by a consideration of the many and important benefits which result from it to the study and practice of human law. There must be lawyers. Well, what can be better than to find where lies that influence which makes them noble and estimable as other men? Plutarch observes, that law-suits left Sparta along with money, and the distinctions of rich and poor; but he admits that the constitution of that state, though favourable to courage, was inefficient to promote justice. In the general wreck of institutions at the time of the revolution in France, the order of advocates was swept away and abolished, so that the very name of advocate ceased for a time to exist. Catholicism, in accordance with the nature of things and the principles which are essential to the existence of civilized society, could not but sanction institutions which were necessary for the maintenance of the relations which were inseparable from it. And we may observe, that even the austerest orders which perpetuated the voluntary condition of the primitive Christians were willing expressly to admit the possibility of occasions when those who aspired to perfection might make use of them like other men. The Abbé de Rancé, for instance, says, that with proper dispositions there may be times when, for the sake of truth, monks ought to reply before the tribunals, and, as St. Basil says, resist those who would take from them what is their own*. This road however, in Christian and in Gentile times, has led through very different scenes in the great forest of life, and formed men by a very different type. No longer shall we find insolvent debtors put to death by law, and creditors claiming literally the quarters of their mutilated bodies, as the twelve tables prescribed; no masters killing their slaves, as they might legally till the time of Hadrian and the Antonines; no marriages legalized between brothers and sisters, as in Egypt, Sparta, and Athens; no systematic violation of nature, or substitution of legal fictions for its justice, as in the instance of the Roman family, which was founded, not in blood

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* De la Sainteté de la Vie Monastique, 420.

and nature, as a great jurisconsult observes, but on the civil tie of power, which united its members and maintained their aggregation. It was not because one was son, or wife, or relation, that one was a member of the family, but in consequence of falling under the definition of certain legal qualifications, neither God nor nature being recognized. Nevertheless, even the Gentile law itself had its signals, rightly pointing, so true it is, as Thomassin says, that the rational soul has relation and agreement with the eternal Word, who is the Creator of all intelligences. Hence, he adds, that surprising conformity between the laws of some pagan emperors and those of the Church. Justinian inserted in his code a law enacted by Antoninus*. From Nero to Constantine however it is easy to prove that the civil law underwent that indirect action of Christianity by which all things were then affected. Some have venerated the pagan jurisconsults for the advice they gave to emperors. Arthur Duck says that the force which they gave to the authority of bishops and councils is to be ascribed under the divine clemency to those jurisconsults who administered under them †. And Baldus thinks that the edict of the prætor, respecting obligations extorted by force, was dictated by the Holy Ghost—Prætoris edicti verba Spiritum Sanctum in os prætoris immisisse Baldus existimavit. The pagans even used openly to consult the bishops, and submit their disputes to their decisions. The mediation advised by St. Paul, after having maintained peace between all Christians of the primitive Church, when subsequently enlarged by the support of Constantine and popular favour, contributed to infuse the Christian wisdom into civil relations. The sentences of the bishops, disengaged from judiciary forms, brought back law to equity. Constantine desired that their judgments should have the same force as if they had been rendered by himself.

During the reign of Julian, the progress of legal improvement stopped short; for it is a remarkable fact that among the numerous constitutions emanating from Julian, and collected in the Theodosian code, there is not one connected with the restoration of natural law and equity; so true it is that Christianity was the sole principle of great social ameliorations. Troplong extols the wisdom of the Justinian code, as surpassing all the writings of the classic jurisconsults of the age of Alexander Severus, and he explains its superiority by the fact of Justinian having accepted the noble type which Christianity offered to him. He was a theologian as well as a jurisconsult, and he persevered in Christianizing law. That is his immortal merit, which is expressed by Dante, saying that he was

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* Le P. Thomass. Traité des Juremente, c. xiv.

† De Auct. Juris Civilis, ii. 9.

"—— destined by the will
Of that prime love, whose influence he felt,
From vain excess to clear the incumber'd laws[*]."

"To the Catholic philosophy," says this great authority, "we are indebted for the whole basis of our social existence: it nourishes the root of our law, and we live by it far more than by any remnant of ancient ideas saved from the ruins of the Greek and Roman world. And, if Christianity has impressed a strong civilizing impulse upon law, the movement nevertheless did not attain its object until after having received from the middle ages the reverberation which extended it into the civil code[†]."

Merula, speaking of the Langobards, whom Eutherus, secretary of Frederic I., describes as—

"Gens astuta, sagax, prudens, industria, sollers,
Provida consilio legum, jurisque perita"—

makes mention of some of the new benefits; for he says, "In publicam utilitatem leges condiderunt breves adeo apertas et absolutas, ut parum interpretis indigeant, et omnia ita complectantur, ut nihil fere relinquant in cognoscendis ingenio atque solertia[‡]." It is for jurisconsults themselves to say, whether the wisdom of the old legislation, to which pontiffs and mitred abbots contributed far more than acts of secular assemblies, has not a certain attractive power to direct them to reverence the old Catholicity of the middle ages. It was then that the wisest laws were passed, and that the true principles of law were laid down by Catholic bishops, as when the old Spanish historian says, "With us it may be truly said, that the laws are speaking, and the magistrates who administer them mute[§]." It was then that holy bishops, like Ives de Chartres, composed immortal letters against being led by suspicions without legal proof, or by the evidence of men who acknowledge themselves guilty[||], comparing illegality in judgment to the violence of an assassin, saying, "Ego itaque, servato legum tramite, nolo quemquam more sicariorum sine audientia punire[¶]." It was then that the liberties of Englishmen were secured; and it is remarkable that to the last hour, while Catholicity remained, it was occupied in correcting abuses and errors that interfered with that freedom, as in the instance of Queen Mary, who required that thenceforth

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[*] Par. iii. 6.

[†] Troplong, de l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil des Romains.

[‡] D. Gat. Hist. Abb. Cassinensis, P. I. 262.

[§] Hieron. Blanca, Aragonens. Rer. Comment. 343.

[||] Iv. Carnot. passim, Ep. ccv.

[¶] Ep. 169.

witnesses should be heard in favour of those accused by the crown. But, to estimate better the force of the considerations which should attract men occupied in legal studies to the Catholic Church, let us pause here awhile to remark the advantages which accrue from her theological doctrine to the science and practice to which they have devoted their lives.

In the first place, Catholicity supplies law with a supernatural authority and power, whereby to effect its purposes with consistent wisdom. Cicero, in pleading for Cluentius, denied the doctrine of future punishment in another life; but he did so merely to obtain a favourable hearing and to propitiate the audience. "What an audience," exclaims Troplong, "to be conciliated by such a doctrine!" Truly in the interests of law itself he might well express his indignation; for, after all, if you remove the great primitive doctrines of religion, what ground remains on which you can hope for social security? Law needs a force and authority from above. What becomes of evidence without faith? It is religion that doth make vows kept. "You make laws in this hall of supreme temporal power," says the illustrious Hughes, bishop of New York, "but then can you make them binding on the consciences of men? Yes, with one condition. If men, before your laws are enacted, have, as a principle in their hearts, the belief that God sanctions authority—that there is a higher and holier Law-maker who gives sanction to your laws. Where will you place the security and sacredness of legislation, but in this principle of the necessity of an account where deception will be impossible?" So in the immortal treatise on laws by St. Thomas Aquinas, which may be proposed as a model that no jurist or philosopher can surpass, laws are declared to be binding on the conscience on account of the divine eternal law; not because of the will of a human legislator, as the French sophists would now pretend; from whose doctrine flow this contempt and irreverence for the holiness of justice that can be witnessed every where. "You owe no less veneration," says D'Aguesseau, "to the ministers of justice than to justice itself." But remark again the consequences of the new foundation on which laws and states are to be reconstructed. Our government you say, is not like that of the French sophists, atheist; only as Protestant it must speak and legislate in conformity with modern views. Consequently, then, it denies the freedom of the human will; and how therefore can it punish without injustice? In the pleading of the guilty there may be indeed nothing novel, unless in the form, which now assumes the shape that modern phrases can impart. When Philippe Auguste rejected his innocent wife, Ingeburga, his advocates would argue that the fault lay with some power of darkness which had been employed. His sudden dislike to her at the coronation was all the demon's fault, it was

suggerente diabolo, as one old writer says, or, according to another, instigante diabolo. But it is a novelty in jurisprudence, and identical with a rejection of the Catholic faith, to urge the innocence of the immediate agents, whether pleading the influence of demons, or that alleged insanity which physicians designate by a new name. Catholicism declares, that "notwithstanding all the science and power which the Scriptures ascribe to the devil, saying, that he has no equal upon earth, he cannot change the will of man, over which, as over the intellectual part, he has, properly speaking, neither hold nor power. He cannot then put into his heart a single thought or desire which man does not wish to have; he cannot enter or act in the heart or mind if man does not open to him the door of the consent of his will[*]." "Nemo," says the rule of Solitaries, "potest à diabolo decipi, nisi is, qui ei suæ voluntatis assensum præbere voluerit[†]." The devil showed his weakness, saying to our Lord, "Mitte te deorsum." "So it is, brethren," adds St. Thomas of Villanova; "if you do not cast yourselves down, he cannot precipitate you[‡]." Therefore St. Augustin says, "Jam videte, fratres, quam stultus est homo ille quem canis in catena positus mordet. Tu te illi per voluntates et cupiditates sæculi noli conjungere, et ille ad te non præsumet accedere. Latrare potest, solicitare potest, mordere omnino non potest nisi volentem[§]." No one, you say, pleads the power of Satan in our courts? True. But many plead what tribunals which are without the Catholic faith are impotent to overrule, the excuse of other impulses and the slavery of the human will. Catholicism alone invests law with holy power to combat such suggestions; for, in opposition to all antagonists, it says what Dante thus expresses,—

"Contingency, whose verge extendeth not
Beyond the tablet of your mortal mould,
Is all depictured in th' eternal sight;
But hence deriveth not necessity,
More than the tall ship, hurried down the flood,
Is driven by the eye that looks on it[‖]."

But how can you, who yield assent to Protestant interpretations, legislate or punish while complaining that "fate, free virtue should enthral to force or chance?" Protestantism, denying free will, teaches each criminal to say that he sins like Helen,—

οὐχ ἑκοῦσ', ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν[¶].

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[*] Passavanti Specchio della vera Penitenza.

[†] Cap. lxiv.

[‡] Dom. i. Quad. Serm.

[§] Serm. 197. de Tempore.

[‖] Par. 17.

[¶] Andr. 680.

Moreover, under its influence, which involves an absence of all fixed principles, science itself betrays the cause of justice upon earth, by sanctioning appeals to monomania and passions irresistible, having their source in the organization of men*. The thief and murderer, having, as they say, the organ of crimes, plead now a principle resembling that destiny of the Greeks, which conducted Œdipus irresistibly to commit the most fearful crimes, while his heart was pure and his intentions innocent. All his crimes are involuntary. But, if so, how can law justly punish or hope to restrain what is deemed irresistible? Catholicism however allows of no such impotency, unless in cases where the common sense of men can recognize madness. He would be excused on the ground of his impotence? "Sed, si in ipso impotentia culpa est," says the schoolman, "sicut non levat peccatum ita non excusat non reddentem debitum†." Inability is no excuse, he adds, "Quoniam effectus peccati non excusat peccatum quod facit." Protestantism practically gives the rein to passions, and then pleads inability to control them, thereby rendering its tribunals logically powerless. Catholicism teaches and supplies the means of restraining them, and rejects the plea of irresistible temptation, saying with St. Augustin, "Nihil est magis in potestate voluntatis quam ipsa voluntas," thereby justifying legislation and judges in their judicial acts. At present, among the greatest criminals wilfully transgressing, one pretends surprisal, unadmonished, unforewarned, and often too with reason. Another ascribes all the fault to his physical organization, and pleads the impulse which results from it. Grave learned writers adopt a more subtle argument for men in their position, and conclude by saying, like those whom St. Augustin knew, "De cœlo tibi est inevitabilis causa peccandi‡." seeking, as he says, to prove, "ut homo sine culpa sit." Accordingly, in the year 1843, we hear complaints from all sides of the danger into which society is thrown by the new ideas and the consent of the law; so one writes to the public, and exclaims, "How readily will the passions overrun control, when checked neither by principle nor the fear of punishment. Now, as the law seems to say that every unprincipled man who chooses, instead of bridling his passions, to give them full scope until they at length acquire such power over him as to lead him to commit the basest of crimes, is to be exempt from punishment—because his passion blinds his reason—it seems absolutely necessary that some means should be devised for the protection of the persons of her Majesty's liege and sane subjects." Another says, "The legislature, after a great flourish of trumpets, has done nothing, and means

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* Moreau, du Matérialisme Phrénologique.

† S. Bonavent.

‡ Conf. iv. 3.

to do nothing. The law is to remain as it is; and while mad doctors are allowed to perplex and bewilder the minds of jurymen with their quackeries about 'monomania,' 'delusions,' uncontrollable and irresponsible 'homicidal propensities,' the law will be virtually left in their hands." So the germ of the evil, detected by the keen eye of Shakspear, in the corrupt society which still retained some remnants of the Catholic wisdom, has now expanded into leaves which strike with terror even the most unphilosophical who pass. The law itself assents when we make nature guilty of our disasters. "As if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and traitors by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in by a divine thrusting on. An admirable evasion!"

Again, let us observe another inconvenience, not to say obstacle, upon this road, arising from the rejection of divine faith and the authority of the Catholic Church. You deny that heresy can be criminal; and the very thought of restraining its propagation fills you with horror, as an outrage against the freedom of thought which was achieved by "the glorious reformation;" but how can you then continue, with consistency, to restrain by penalties that freedom of opinions which you pronounce to be such an inalienable privilege? "What right," says Balmes, "have you to condemn men who believe that they have a right to appropriate to themselves the property of another, and to make war upon society? If men are free to believe what they will—and it is a violation of sacred rights to oblige men to act against their conscience—how can you cite them before your tribunals for their social and political acts, which seem right in their eyes, though directed against you? Alone Catholicism logically maintains that errors can be culpable; and alone it can legitimately punish the guilty, reminding them, when they plead conscience, that it was their duty to have rectified their conscience*." In return for such benefits, it is true that Catholicity was generally protected by the ancient Christian legislation; but this very spirit, infused into the old law of Europe by the general faith, ought to constitute a clear issue for those who love the legitimate exercise of judicial power to pass on to a recognition of the truth of the Church which has always communicated that desire to the wisest and greatest legislators. How can a truly philosophic lawyer refuse to respect that Church, which was so carefully protected, and so tenderly loved, by the greatest and best men who figure in the legislative and judicial history of Europe; and for which even some of them, like the chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More, laid down

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* Balmes, le Protestantisme comparé au Cath. &c., ch. 35.

their lives? Have the examples of Justinian, Charlemagne, Edward the Confessor, St. Lewis, and the great jurisconsults who commented and administered their admirable laws, no attractive power to entice a lover of wisdom in regard to law from following the new paths of a Scroggins, a Sir Edward Coke, and the parliaments of Protestant times, renouncing, persecuting, then tolerating while maligning and defying, the Catholic Church and the Holy See? One might indeed wonder if it were so.

"Law," says St. Thomas, "is a certain ordinance of reason, promulgated for the common good*; therefore law must protect the spiritual interests of the human race, which form no small part of it; and Catholicity alone, which alone gives infallible certainty as to the nature of these interests, enables the lawgiver to furnish that protection with justice and consistency."

"Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus; illius esto defensor."

The Christian legislator interpreted this better party as being eminently the Church which audacious impiety was ever anxious to violate, and pronounced, in allusion to it, in the words of Robert d'Arbrisselle, that "ad hoc conditæ sunt leges, ut malevolorum coerceatur audacia, et tuta sit inter improbos innocentia†." The angelic doctor establishes the maxim, that it is the law, and not man, who is to govern. But if this be no modern doctrine, it is a novelty to pretend, as states at present teach, that the law, as an abstraction, must recognize no absolute truth in religion, and that it must refuse to give external practical effect to the spiritual doctrines of Christianity. Men on this road of magistrates may be led, therefore, to discern the divine benefits of the Catholic religion, by a consideration of its having induced lawgivers to respect revealed truth, and to sanction foundations in its favour, with a view to the interests of the future life. You have thought differently. The law now takes no cognizance of holy times. Your courts, where the established religion professes to be apostolical in its usages, are thronged in Lent, exposing you to the reproof—"Ecce ad lites et contentiones jejunatis." It would be esteemed supremely ridiculous if an objection were made on the ground of fasting being still required by your canons; and cannot this observation direct a recognition of the prodigious change which has taken place in the religion of your legislators, since the time when the imperial laws ordained, saying, "In iis diebus nec spectaculum peragitur,

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* 1. 2. Q. 90, art 4.

† Rob. Arboricens. Opus quadripartitum super compescenda Hæreticorum Petulantia, lib. iii.

nec causa dicitur*?" The imperial laws of Gratian and Theodosius declare, that during the forty days of Lent all trials of criminals must cease. Those of Theodosius and Arcadius forbid all punishment of bodies while the absolution of souls is expected†. Theodosius says, alluding to these at Easter, "Utinam ego mortuos ad vitam revocare possem."

The council of Meaux, in 845, expressed their desire to King Charles the Bald, that the tribunals and courts of justice should be closed, according to the ancient custom, during Lent. In Catholic times, so little was the law like that cold abstraction which modern opinions have made it, that private men were told to imitate its warmth and its sympathy with the Church. The great pope, St. Leo, reminds the faithful of the piety of kings who forgave, and set free, criminals on the great festivals. "Let the Christian people, then, imitate their princes, and be incited to domestic indulgence by the royal examples. For private ought not to be more austere than public laws. Let faults be pardoned, and let vengeance perish‡." Again, you have endeavoured to render impossible all foundations for the benefit of the souls of men, and even for the advantage of the poor, in regard to their material interests, differing from the Centumvirs, who, as in the case of Tuditanus, attended rather to what was written in the will than to the person who wrote it, in order to approve of what was just and good, since you heed not what it may contain, provided your laws have force which prohibit and remove what all Christian antiquity deemed useful, holy, and inviolable. But must not some men turn from your statutes of mortmain, however ancient, and acts against superstitious purposes, however closely wound up with Protestantism, to recognize the wisdom of that religion against which they were directed, whether enacted by its narrow-minded members in a former age, or its sworn enemies in the present; and to kiss with veneration the very charters which attest the true Catholic spirit of the old Christian lawgivers and kings? Is there no attraction in a religion which dictated, for instance, such laws and diplomatic acts as we find treasured up in the monastic archives? Let us examine some, and take a few from those of the abbey of Mount Cassino.

The donation of Theutus, in 1005, contains these words: "Declaro quia statutum est in Longobardorum lege, ut quicquid homo pro anima sua judicaverit, vel disposuerit, stabilem debeat permanere§." Another evinces the tenderness and spirituality

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* Le P. Thomassin, Traité des Jeûnes, ii. 25.

† Lib. ix. iv. 5. lib. ii. lib. 8. 1, 2.

‡ Hom. 2. de Quadrag.

§ D. Gat. Hist. Cassinensis. sæc. vi. 203.

of Catholic law in regard to the individual wants of subjects. "I, Atto, count, declare, that on a certain day, having begun to think how the sinners and impious who neglect to redeem their sins will be punished with perpetual doom with the devil, and how the just and the elect of God will rejoice in that eternal beatitude with the Lord, the divine piety suddenly looked upon me; and my heart was so pierced with fear and anxiety, that I began earnestly to inquire, from a priest and monk, how I might redeem my sins and avert the wrath of the eternal Judge, and received answer, that among works of mercy there could be no better than to make the present grant, which I here offer, since the Lord King Liuprand has declared, saying, 'si quis Longobardus habens statum humanæ fragilitatis egrotaberit, quamquam in lectulo rejacet, dum vivit, et, recte loqui, tur, potestatem habeat de rebus suis pro anima sua judicandi vet dispensandi, et quidquid judicaverit vel dispensaverit de rebus suis pro anima sua, stabili ordine debeat permanere;' and since also the Emperor Charles, in his Capitular, has likewise declared, that if a Longobard should think about the salvation of his soul, whatever he may order respecting his goods, 'absolute faciat unusquisque de rebus suis quid velint*.'" So also in 1058, Acto, the son of Gisunus, declares, e spontanea voluntate, that he makes his donation because the edict of Lord Charles declares, that whatever a Lombard gives for the good of his soul should be inviolable for ever, according to his will †. And similarly Giso makes his offering to the Church of St. Michael, in 1013, because it is ordained by law, ut si quis Longobardus, ut habet casus umana fragilitatis, egrotaberit, quamquam in lectulo rejaceat, potestatem abcad dum vibit et rectis loqui potest, et pro anima sua judicandi vel disserendi de rebus suis quit, aut qualiter bolucrit, et quit judicaberit, stabilem debeat permanere‡. So also in 1104, Count Robert, in a charter, says, "Declaro sicut in edicti Langobardorum continet paginam, ut omnis homo liber potestatem habead ubicunque voluerit de rebus suis donare pro anima sua in sanctis locis causa pietatis, vel in xenodochiis judicare quod voluerit, et quod judicaverit pro anima sua, stabile debead permanere, et ad pius Deus, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus de peccatis nostris dimittere et minuare dignetur, et ut habeamus partem in primam resurrectionem, ut in judicio non inter hædos ad sinistram, sed inter agnos ad dexteram aggregari mereamur consortio, therefore I make this offering§." With such veneration did Catholic law regard the institutions of the Christian religion, that persons bound by vow to a life of perfection were exempted from liability to be put on their

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* vi. 240.

† vi. 314.

‡ vi. 326.

§ Id. i. 221.

oaths in courts of justice. The monks of Mount Cassino, being asked to swear by a cardinal, refused. Peter, the deacon, remarked on that occasion, that in the rule of St. Benedict monks are forbidden to swear; and that human laws admitted their prescription, as was witnessed in those of Charlemagne, Lewis Pepin, Carlomann, Lewis, Hugo, Lothaire, Berenger, Albert, the three Othos, the five Henries, and Conrad, who all say—"statuimus ut monachi ad Sacramentum non compellantur*."

But, leaving this special guidance, let us pass to more general observations of the character of law. In the defiles of this road, however dark and menacing, there are certain gracious spots at intervals, where signals seem to point towards the Catholic Church, as having always endeavoured to infuse into human laws that generous and merciful spirit, of which the traces can be distinguished here. Consideration, and tenderness for the poor, associated with a view to the eternal recompense that awaits their patience, will never be an attribute of legislation or of legal administration, which turns its face from Catholicity; whereas these attributes, when found in law-makers and tribunals, will point to the Church as the true centre from which they emanate in every form. "Take courage; oh, weep not," says the King Alphonso VII. to Sancho, the poor peasant, whom he receives in his palace at Leon; "learn that I am compassionate, and that I render justice: tell me who has injured you; who under my reign has had the folly to offend a poor man†?" Educated men in our age are shocked and filled with compassion, when they hear of a person in elevated station being arrested in his palace by the agents of justice, or condemned to the same punishment which men of lower station would infallibly have suffered from their own laws for the same offence; but Catholicism inspires men with equal pity when they hear of the same agents entering the cottage of the poor, and the same fate visited on the peasant. Persons destitute and miserable enjoyed, as such, great privileges by the ancient Catholic laws. In many places they had, besides, certain especial advocates. In Rome, where one of two parties in a suit was too poor to maintain it, he used to be relieved by a sodality, erected among the clerks regular of St. Paul, in Antoninus's Forum, and consisting of advocates and proctors, who undertake the prosecution when the cause is good, and defend it most stiffly. And the same office is discharged there by a more ancient college of proctors of the court called of St. Eustatius, out of which the poor have lawyers assigned to follow their causes; while the tribunal itself of the sacred Rota, if any one plead

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* Id. vii. 348.

† Lopez de Vega. "The best alcade is the king."

poverty, allots him advocates, and orders papers to be drawn up without fees, lest the poverty of any man should cause him to suffer in his right*. In Spain, the Cortes of Toledo decreed, in 1480, that there should be an advocate for the poor at the public expense, in order to defend the suits of such as were unable to maintain them at their own cost. Maurus of Nola, abbot of Mount Cassino, appointed Joseph de Autone as the advocate or patron of the poor. His letters patent are as follows:—"Nothing should be dearer to a prince and lord than to provide for prompt justice, being accessible to his subjects. For to this end one man is preferred over others, in order that he can render distributively justice to each. And since for the most part the poor are vexed by the powerful; and since, too, —especially when they ought to expect justice in judgment, either because they know not how, or are unable to maintain their cause,—they are accustomed to suffer injury, we have decreed, in the beginning of this our administration, having our mind especially fixed on this object, to erect a new tribunal in our presence on appointed days, where the causes of all the poor, and of all weak unprotected miserable persons may be heard; and for this we have appointed an auditor, advocate, and patron of the whole university of the poor and destitute, a man integritate vitæ, jurisque prudentia commendatum, who may punish and prevent all evils and injuries committed, or about to be committed, against the poor†." "Sampson, abbot of St. Edmondsbury," says the chronicle of that abbey, "was so remarkable for his discretion and equity as a judge, proceeding in every suit according to justice, that a certain person said, 'Cursed be the court of this abbot, where neither gold nor silver can help me to confound my adversary.' In process of time, becoming somewhat practised in secular causes, and taught by an inborn common sense, he became of so subtle a wit, that all marvelled; indeed, by Osbert Fitz Hervey, the under-sheriff, it was said, 'This abbot is a wrangler; if he goeth on as he hath begun, he will outwit us all, many as we be‡.'" Is not Catholicity full in view when we hear of a prince or king presiding as judge to render justice, because the parties are the poor and miserable, as in these instances, or as when Ferdinand and Isabella sat on the bench to render justice, or the king St. Lewis placed himself at the side of Stephen Boileau, while rendering justice at the Châtelet, in Paris, as prévôt§, following the example of Charlemagne, who, not content with enacting wise laws, conse-

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* Pietas Romana, 86.

† D. Gattula, Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 692.

‡ Jocelin of Brakelond.

§ Le Livre des Métiers, introduct. lxxxi.

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crated his time, and even his hours of repose and sleep, to act as judge in person, so sensible was he of the obligations of rendering justice to all his subjects, and convinced that the promptitude of its execution was part of the justice due to them. Again, the infusion of mercy in general, and of divine charity into legislation and law, may form an opening to the Catholic religion, on which no contrary results, wherever they may be found, can ever be of right chargeable. For the barbarous usages which had been transmitted from the Pagan civilization, and which Catholicism, and not its antagonists, finally suppressed every where, while the name of Francis Bacon is set to documents approving of them, can only prove the resistance which the world offered to its mild, benignant light. Catholicity, indeed, prescribes punishment, saying that, "to wilful men, the injuries that they themselves procure must be their schoolmasters." It would never grant impunity to assassins. In the constitutions of Otho IV., we read these words, which will sound barbarous to the new Canonists:—"He who shall wound another with a knife shall lose his head, because a knife is the instrument of a traitor; and he who shall wound with a sword shall have his hand cut off*."

But with just severity the Catholic legislation and administration unite a spirit that is unknown in all courts which are insensible to their doctrine and associations, subjecting law itself to the force resulting from considerations of a supernatural order, which it declares and even renders a present reality. "No one can doubt," says Mathieu Paris, "but to show mercy to the unhappy, even when they are not worthy of it, is the supreme perfection of charity†." "Per misericordiam bene fecit animæ in mundo, in extremo, in judicio, in cœlo. In mundo gratiam, in extremo fiduciam, in judicio misericordiam, in cœlo gloriam consequitur vir misericors‡." This is what St. Bonaventura says; and wherever Catholicity is not renounced, there are no walls, and no breasts, into which such voices do not with some results penetrate. An alcade led to Philip II. the superior of a Franciscan convent, convicted of having concealed a criminal who had been anxiously sought for. "What induced you to conceal such a culprit?" asked the king in an angry tone. "Charity," replied the monk modestly. "Lead him back with honour to his convent," said the king, suddenly appeased; "since it is charity which guides him, we ought to imitate him." "Omnis justitia," says St. Bridget, "debet esse cum misericordia et sapientia§." Is this the rule of your reformed courts? It would

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* In Goldast. Const. Imp. iii. 371.

† Ad ann. 1258.

‡ De B. Nic. Serm. iii.

§ Revelat. S. Birgit. lib. ii. c. 2.

not seem so from the daily reports of what passes there. We read lately of an Irish girl, aged seventeen, of great beauty and anterior good conduct, at the spring assizes of Liverpool in 1844, having been found guilty of stealing a gown, which she said she wanted to wear on a certain holiday, and that she always intended to return it, and of her being condemned to seven years' transportation. This cruel sentence had such an effect on her that she became mad a few hours after; her hair turned white, and she was despaired of in the prison hospital. All had been done, no doubt, according to law, by men of strict honour and justice, and mercy according to the interpretation of the day; but it was law that Protestantism had framed, and it was by men whose minds Protestantism had formed. Catholicity would have produced different results under similar circumstances. "Seigneur Corregidore," says Louis Perez, of Galicia, in the play of Calderon, who admits of nothing improbable or contrary to life around him, "do not pursue this knight with so much rigour, justice also ought to have its generosity*." During the trial of the Duc de Biron, some one posted a placard on the palace gate, "Pour esmouvoir les juges à pitié, et de ne chastier en la foiblesse d'Adam la ruze du serpent†." The greatest criminals, without being allowed to defy human justice, are to have the benefit of this consideration where the Catholic religion is received. So, when society has been satisfied, prayers and solemn ceremonies are for the guilty. In Valencia, on the festival of St. Matthias, a Spanish historian tells us, "that there is a solemn procession to the place where the bodies of executed criminals are either suspended on gibbets or exposed, which are then placed in coffins and carried to the church where high mass is sung, and their obsequies being celebrated with honour they are interred‡." The learned lawyer, Panciroli, accused Boiardo of being fitter for writing poems than punishing evil deeds. I am not prepared to affirm, that all who administer the law under the influence of Catholicity are obnoxious to the same charge; but this I think we may assert without much hesitation, that Catholicity would prefer such a type of the judicial character to that of an unbending severity, surpassing the pagan rigour, which admitted of exceptions and alterations, and departures from the letter, as when the woman of Smyrna killed her second husband for killing the son of her first, and the Areopagus put off the cause till a hundred years, from a distrust of their own power. "You will hear judges in the world," says the preacher of Charles V., Antonio de Guevara, and the stranger has heard one

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* i. 2.

† Pierre Matthieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. v.

‡ Marinei Siculi, de Reb. Hispan. lib. iii.

of them, who happened to be the only Protestant judge with whom he ever sat at table, "boast of having flogged, beheaded, and hung men, just as other persons esteem themselves for having ransomed so many captives, or enabled so many orphans to marry. Let a judge chastise the wicked according to the law, and I praise him; but to praise himself for having condemned a man, I am scandalized: for the Christian judge should esteem himself more for shedding tears in the church than blood upon the scaffold*." "On a certain day," says Marina de Escobar, "about the end of November, I beheld two souls very differently constituted; one was that of the great Don Roderic Calderon, who had been beheaded, and who was now glorified in heaven; the other was that of his judge who had condemned him, and who, now covered with affliction in purgatory, on bent knees, and with joined palms, with great humility was seeking from the glorious soul that it would intercede for it with God. The glorious soul looked benignly on the other, condoling with it, promising to do so, and saying, that to free it from those pains it would, if possible, return to the world, and suffer again that death and a thousand other torments. I learned from this that the judge, though with a good intention, and thinking he did well, had added stimulants to the affliction and death which the other had endured, allowing his natural propensity to mingle with his intention instead of correcting it. Then the guilty soul, turning to me, said, 'Servant of God, write what you have seen, that men, and, above all, judges may learn from my example how they should treat their neighbour. Implore mercy for me, who justly suffer these torments because my severity had no compassion for the penitent sinner †."

The intervention of the clergy in the cause of mercy for the criminal points exclusively to the Catholic Church and to the Holy See. "Qui assistunt judicibus," says St. Gregory, "et sinceris erga eos dilectionibus astringuntur, illa eis suadere debent atque suggere, quæ et animam salvant, et opinioni non derogant ‡." Thus early began this action; and St. Augustin, in reference to the merciful direction, beautifully describes its motive and advantages. "See," he says, "that we act from the motive of religion, and not through affinity with the criminals, when we intercede for them." "Quod intercedimus plerunque etiam pro sceleratis, et si non scelerati, tamen pro peccatoribus peccatores, et quod veraciter potius quam injuriosè dictum accipias, puto quod apud peccatores. Prodest ergo et severitas vestra, cujus ministerio quies adjuvatur et nostra: prodest et

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* L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 950.

† Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. ii. lib. ii. c. 19.

‡ S. Greg. in Registro.

intercessio nostra, cujus ministerio severitas temperatur et vestra *." Methinks, if this whole epistle were read, you would understand why the crucifix is suspended in Catholic tribunals before the face of the judge. In the Roman pontifical, where we find the form of degradation and of delivery to the secular arm, the pontiff is directed by the rubric to intercede with the secular judge, "Efficaciter et ex corde, omni instantia," and to use these words, "Domine judex, rogamus vos cum omni affectu, quo possumus, ut amore Dei, pietatis et misericordiæ intuitu, et nostrorum interventu precaminum miserrimo huic nullum mortis vel mutilationis periculum inferatis †."

On passing a prison lately, a traveller in Spain remarks ironically, that to see such a building is now considered as proof of the country having become civilized; but even in such objects there might be lessons read directing to the Catholic Church. A monk, Dom Mabillon, is the first French author that wrote on the moral reform of prisons. He recommended solitude at intervals, labour, and prayer. He thought that prisoners should have gardens, like the Carthusians, to work in occasionally, and that they should assist at the divine offices. He concluded, saying, "If this discipline were once established, such solitude, instead of being insupportable, would be found so pleasant, that most prisoners would wish to continue in it for the rest of their days." The spiritual consolations for prisoners desired by Catholicity may therefore, when contrasted with the more material provision for them by the modern ideas, direct observers to make a distinction which will prove fruitful in consequences to themselves.

The institution of the Inquisition, and the laws directed against the Jews, cannot be adduced to present an obstacle on this path to shut out from sight the legislative and administrative mercy emanating from the Catholic Church, on which the blame of abuse and perversion cannot be justly thrown; for, if rightly observed, discarding the feeble sophistry and palpable, though unintentional, misrepresentation of facts substituted for history by men who follow blindly no better guides than Mosheim, Sismondi, Llorente, and Puigblanch, they are rather pregnant with examples of both. Society itself, and the good and wise are entitled to mercy, we should remember, and not the perverse alone. The Inquisition was established in Spain in 1478, at the prayer of Queen Isabella, whom to name is to name all human virtues; and one who gives full credit to every misrepresentation respecting it, remarks, that "writers of sound and expansive views, like Zurita and Blancas, although flourishing in what he terms a better-instructed age, do not scruple to pro-

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* Epist. liv.

† Pont. Rom. Degradatio.

nounce it the greatest evidence of her prudence and piety, as being of undoubted utility to Spain *." It was instituted chiefly against those Jews who had outwardly embraced the Christian faith, while secretly plotting to undermine it †. If the Inquisition in Spain acted with rigour against the Judaizing Christians, it did not interfere with the Jews themselves, whom Luther would have persecuted without mercy. In all cases, external acts and perseverance after three secret admonitions were required before any judicial proceedings took place; and therefore the Duc de Biron, before a secular tribunal, might well say, adhering to historic truth, that "it was hard to begin in his person the punishment of thoughts." Moreover, at the time of the greatest rigour of the Inquisition, in Spain and elsewhere, persons menaced or accused used often to fly to the holy see. The cases of appeal to Rome, during the first fifty years of this tribunal, are innumerable; and the holy see invariably took the side of indulgence ‡. At one time, in 1498, we find two hundred and fifty persons at Rome, come from Spain under the accusation of Judaizing, who were absolved on performing some slight penance. The Inquisition of Rome has never pronounced the execution of a capital pain, while, in every other part of Europe, wholesale executions used to take place by order of other tribunals. What is there besides in common between Catholicity and the excessive severity shown in Spain, under extraordinary circumstances, of rival races, or of kings who sought to consolidate the tranquillity of their states? In France, we find the Inquisition intervening to save persons from the injustice or severity of secular courts. Thus, on the memorable occasion of the trial of the Maid of Orleans, the Dominican friar, who was inquisitor, refused to act against her, notwithstanding the demands of the Paris doctors. It appears too, from a document of the thirteenth century, that an inquisitor of Toulouse complained of the rigour of the secular judges §. In these proceedings were revived the ancient intercession of the clergy, and the appeal and flight to Rome. Thus the holiest and wisest doctors declared in her favour. The venerable Bishop of Avranches replied, that, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas, there was nothing impossible in what the Maid affirmed, nothing that should be lightly rejected. When the Maid was in prison at Rouen, two monks and a legist violated the forms of justice in the interests of justice, went to the prison where they had no right to enter, to advise her; and their advice was that she should appeal to the pope. She did appeal

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* Prescott, iii. 179.

† Balmes, le Protestantismo comparé, &c. ch. 36. ‡ Ch. 36.

§ Archives du Royaume, J. 1024, cited by Michelet, Hist. de France, v. 1.

the next day. By this courageous act they exposed themselves to death, and were saved only by the interference of the inquisitor, who insisted upon their not being molested. Cauchon expected to have on his side, against the Maid, the men of law of Rouen; but when he spoke with one of those grave legists, Master John Lohier, this man replied that the whole trial was informal and unjust, and then, to save his own life, he immediately fled to Rome, where the pope received him with honours, and gave him a seat in the tribunals of the holy see, where he died, dean of the Rota[*].

With respect to the Jews in general, and the laws affecting them, we must remember that there were cases in which they actually appeared as persecutors of the Christian population, over whom great men, for selfish objects, gave them authority. William of Newbury says, for instance, that Henry II. showed such favour to the Jews, that they became in reality oppressors of the Christian people, and intractable and insolent[†]. In the reign of Richard I. he says, that two Jews, Benedict and Joceus, great usurers, had built magnificent houses in York, equal to king's palaces, where they lived as princes of the people and tyrants of the Christians, oppressing them with usury, and exercising a cruel tyranny over them[‡]. The outbreak against the Jews at Lynn was caused by the Jews persecuting one of their own sect who had been converted, and pursuing him even to the church in which he had taken refuge; and it was on their beginning to force it open, while he cried out for assistance, that the uproar commenced[§]. But the historian who relates instances of deplorable excess against the Jews, completely exculpates the spirit of the age, and the conduct of his own contemporaries, who represented its religious and legislative character. On these occasions he complains, that "neither the force of law, nor reason, nor humanity, could restrain the rabble[‖]." "Under Henry II, the Jews in England," he says, "were happy and prosperous, and held a kind of supremacy over the Christians, so that they swelled with insolence against Christ, and afflicted the people with many injuries; but this," he adds, "does not excuse the cruelties exercised against them." He says that the outbreak against them at York was led on by an evil beast, a most audacious man without mercy, and that the execrable cruelty of these wretches was inexcusable[¶]. The citizens of York declared constantly, that the outbreak against the Jews there was neither by their advice nor permission; that they took no part in it, that they were unable to prevent it, and that it was the work of a lawless rabble[**]. The insolence of the Jews at

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[*] Id. v. 136.

[†] Guiliel. Neubrig. Rer. Ang. lib. iii. 25.

[‡] Id. lib. iv. 9.

[§] Id. lib. iv. 7.

[‖] Id. lib. iv. 9.

[¶] Id. iv. 10.

[**] Id. lib. iv. 11.

the beginning of Richard I.'s reign may, he says, have exceeded measure; but this, he adds, did not excuse the violence used against them; Almighty God, however, often fulfils his good pleasure by the evil will and evil action of the most wicked men*.

He observes that the Jews, among a Christian people, serve the same purpose as the crucifixes in churches, to remind us of our Lord's passion, and that they ought to live among them unmolested, even for the sake of Christians themselves, and of their utility †. The secular courts, under the control of powerful men, seemed even, in some instances, to take part with the Jews against the Church. Peter the Venerable, addressing the French king, intimates that an organized system of spoliation exists between them and its false members. "To give more security," he says, "to this criminal commerce of robbers and Jews, an ancient but truly diabolic law has been made by Christian princes, which declares that if any thing belonging to a church, a sacred vessel for instance, should be found with a Jew, the said Jew shall not be obliged to restore it, nor forced to denounce the thief. So that a crime is unpunished in a Jew which would subject a Christian to the gallows." In order that Christendom should not be exhausted by the usury of the Jews, the council of Lateran, it is true, renewed the ancient ordinance, which forbade, on pain of excommunication, all commercial intercourse with Jews, as long as they kept up so high the rate of interest ‡. "When the Jews were banished," says Pierre Matthieu, "it was not for their religion; it was for their usury and cruelty that this was done §." But the ecclesiastical law and prescriptions were in favour of the Jews ||. "It would be easy to show," says the Père Cahier, "by an examination of the collections of civil laws, that the governments and the generations the most violent against the Jews were not those that were the most docile to the Catholic Church ¶."

But now, returning from this side path, let us observe another avenue leading to the Church through a sense of the advantages resulting to law from the existence of those pure, holy manners which Catholicism inspires, and the source of which no one desiring them would seek elsewhere, if he were intelligent. In the first place, it is evident that the interests of jurisprudence are inseparably interwoven with the maintenance of that peace and order for which Catholicism presents the best security. What becomes of law in the collisions of arms, especially when the great principles established by Catholic legislators for the con-

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* Guiliel. Neubrig. Rer. Ang. lib. iv. c. 1. † Id. iv. 9.

‡ Hurter. Gesch. iii. 20. § Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. ii.

|| Cs. c. 3. dist. xlv.; St. Greg. I., VII. Siècle, lib. c. 5.; Concil. Tol. st. c. iii. et ix. de Judæis, v. 6., XII. Siècle. ¶ Monog. de Bourges, 53.

duct of belligerent powers are forgotten or trampled upon? As Pope Honorius IV. says in his bull, which is preserved in the archives of Mount Cassino, "Justice and peace are embraced and united in such an indissoluble society, that one of them cannot be fully possessed without the other; for he who injures one offends against both. Justice being infringed peace is disturbed, and then wars glide in easily, and then justice becomes ineffectual, and hence fresh disturbances of peace, which is the work and fruit of justice. So in the defect of both the reins are given to all licence and dissensions; wars are multiplied; perils of souls, crimes of bodies, and all desolations follow *." Again, what becomes of the dignity, or, as it used to be termed, the religion of law, when the sanctity and gravity of manners perish in a general decay of faith, affecting all ranks and classes of society; so that, as if by general consent, nothing but external position, and the result of circumstances, are required to distinguish the judge and jury from the persons whom they condemn?—

"What call ye justice?
——Is there one amongst you who ne'er
In secret thought has wished another's ill?
Are ye all pure?"

In Catholics—

"The chastened will
Of virtue sees that justice is the right
Of love, and not revenge, and terror, and despite."

At least there will be some obscure and retired contemplatist, wherever faith exists, to repeat lamentingly the poet's words—

"He who the sword of Heaven will bear,
Should be as holy as severe;
Shame to him, whose cruel striking
Kills for faults of his own liking!"

Truly on this road of magistrates may be seen verified the sacred text, which says, Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Yes, at the bar, in the jury-box, on the bench, nothing more useful than a Catholic pious heart. If you will hear the capitularies of Charlemagne, fasting even is useful in the courts, insomuch that they require oaths to be taken fasting †. "Majus periculum judicantis quam ejus qui judicatur," says the rule of St. Columban. Whoever therefore, it adds, submits himself always to judgment will never err; for, if the answer of another should err, the faith of a believer, and the labour of an obedient man, will not err, or want

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* D. Gattula, Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 720.

† Capit. 63. Vide Thomassin, Traité des Jurements, c. xiv.

their reward[*]. Even the Gentile philosopher said, with Plato, that a judge must have a pure and sinless soul, in order that his goodness may enable him to discern more surely what is just[†]. Such are the wants felt upon this road; and these we find are supplied by divine faith, which yields within the wide domains of Catholicity holy manners and perspicuity of judgment, in regard to the detection of character, corresponding with the sanctity required by the judicial office. Dante seems to feel surprise on beholding a judge preparing, in the pains of the suffering Church, for admission among the blessed; for, on meeting Nino de Galluva de Visconti in purgatory, he exclaims,—

> "Nino, thou courteous judge! what joy I felt
> When I perceived thou wert not with the bad[‡]."

But an acquaintance with the old judicial annals would remove the ground of such astonishment. Just and holy in Catholic states were those who answered to that part of the Tyrian population, described by Virgil in the line—

> "Jura magistratusque legunt, sanctumque senatum[§]."

Our old and beautiful French language, says the Count of Montalembert, immortal and intelligent, true representative of the good sense of our fathers, knew by a wonderful instinct to assimilate religion to justice. It was always, said the temple of law, the sanctuary of justice, the priesthood of the magistracy. We ought to accept and to respect this synonyme, and to take it for our guide in legislation; preserving the dignity of what is most august in the secular government of the state, which is certainly the administration of justice; maintaining inviolable the temple of law and the temple of God, the sanctuary of justice and the sanctuary of truth, the sacerdotal character of the priest, and the priesthood of the judge.

The very style of architecture observed in the ancient buildings appropriated to the study and administration of law, wore the impress of that certain ecclesiastical character which denoted the best security for such occupations. Here too was solitude, retirement, learning, and the daily sacrifice offered up in sublime sanctuaries with the voice of praise. The holy chapel was adjoining the palace of justice, as if to proclaim the sanctity of those who here pursued their legal profession. "Boni judices," says St. Isidore, "justitiam ad solam obtinendam salutem æternum suscipiunt[||]." They had the crucifix before their eyes in judging; they sate—

> "Majestic, yet most mild; calm, yet compassionate."

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[*] Reg. S. Columb. ix.
[†] De Repub. lib. iii.
[‡] Id. viii.
[§] Lib. i. 426.
[||] De Summo Bono, lib. iii. 54.

Here were men devoted to a supernatural end, even in their legal profession—men, consequently, like Sir Thomas More ready to mount the scaffold rather than contradict it by denying the spiritual supremacy of the pope, or assenting to any heresy which a tyrant, or an absurd people, might propose—men like Felix, the great magistraté, described by Sidonius Apollinaris, of whom he says, a man of constant friendship, and, what is a rare example, "altitudinem tuam humilitate sublimas *"—men such as D'Aguesseau not only imagined, but knew, named, pointed out. "What an extent of view!" he exclaims, speaking of Langlois, "what exactitude of perception, what justice—we might almost dare to say, what infallibility of reason! There was nothing to exceed the soundness of his mind, unless it was his heart. His house was become a happy asylum for learning, experience, wisdom, and truth; a kind of temple, where sometimes even the most important affairs of religion used to be treated, and where the ministers of the altar were surprised to find, in a secular, not only more light and knowledge, but even more zeal for the purity of discipline, more ardour for the glory of the Church, than in some who approached the nearest to the sanctuary." Seguier, the most enlightened and learned chancellor that ever was, as old writers say, being sent into Normandy to pacify the province after the insurrection of the Nu-pieds, in the reign of Louis XIII., and re-establish the royal authority, is described as exercising a kind of sacerdotal gravity and fervour. Amidst these cares, we find that he found some moments to devote to theology, his favourite science, a question of which one day, at Rouen, so captivated him that he suffered a headache in consequence. There and at Caen his visits were to the Jesuits, whom he loved, and also, not to cause jealousy, to the university of the latter place. After high mass, and visits to the tombs, to the libraries, to the convents; he closed the day with the archbishop at dinner, during which the prelate endeavoured to convert a Huguenot general, Gassion, noted for his cruelty in suppressing the revolt †. The Marquis de Marolles says that this was the most able chancellor that France has ever had. But Floquet, sacrificing to error, laments his predilection for the Jesuits, which, he says, broke out in his reply to the university of Caen, when speaking of the importance of the trust partly reposed in it of educating youth, he added, "Qui est l'une des choses plus importantes à l'estat pourveu qu'ils satisfeissent de leur part à leur debvoir;" here, adds the editor, betraying his own weakness, "perce le faible du chancelier pour les Jesuites qu'il aimait fort ‡." Within these solemn walls, wearing almost

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* Ep. lib. ii. 3.

† Diaire de Verthamont.

‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie.

a monastic gravity, were lawyers, like Sulpitius, more men of justice than of law—"neque enim ille magis jurisconsultus quam justitiæ fuit." He referred all to equity—"neque instituere litiam actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere *." So infamous became the contrary type, that we find the King of Aragon condemning to banishment Ximenes Rada, a celebrated jurisconsult, accused of fomenting unjust law-suits, and of contributing to the ruin of many persons. "Here were men," to repeat the austere words of St. Gregory, "heedless of artificial theories, that are more favourable to the impunity of the guilty than to the safety of the innocent—'Justus advocatus injustas causas nullo modo accipit nec verba dare pro injustitia consentit †.'" St. Thomas of Villanova says that "the lawyer who defends an unjust cause, and injures his neighbour, conspires against Jesus. The temporal lord who spoils the poor, and oppresses the common people, conspires against Jesus. Whoever opposes and hinders any good, especially any public good which relates to the salvation of souls, conspires against Jesus. He is antichrist and a conspirator ‡." Such are the maxims on the tongue of Catholic jurisconsults, who, however few among the many, represent the noble union of judicial learning and the principles of divine faith. On their shelves you find no shameful libels against religious orders, but collections of ancient canons of the Roman Church, treasured up like those volumes which Pope Adrian I. presented, among other precious gifts, to Charlemagne, when that great legislator visited Rome as a pilgrim, during the siege of Pavia; and which were not without their influence when he decreed that whoever disturbed the peace of widows, orphans, or the poor, should pay sixty sous; an enormous sum at that time, which bespeaks the paternal tenderness for the weak, and the political equality of the old Catholic legislation. These were the men who, as Hurter remarks, succeeded every where in establishing the maxim, that no one could hold a public station who was not a true Christian; and in fact, as he observes during the pontificate of Innocent III., if a judge were to become a heretic, his sentences were to be pronounced null and void §. These were the men who "all our law and story strew'd with hymns," and before whose portals, as of old, palms might have been placed to denote their spirit of martyrdom, in devoting their lives to the defence of truth and innocence ||. Some of their maxims would now indeed involve infinite professional embarrassments, but without furnishing ground to doubt the surpassing wisdom which presided over the ancient Catholic

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* Phil. ix.

† St. Greg. sup. Ezech.

‡ Fer. vi. post Dom. Pasch.

§ Geschichte Inn. III. 14.

|| Cassiodorus, lib. vi. variorum.

legislation. "Divine and human laws," says Ives de Chartres. "reject the testimony and judgment of persons excommunicated: not because they do not sometimes testify true and decree just things, but that, being confounded by such a repulse, they may desist from their error*." The imperial edict in 1232, published in the territory of Mount Cassino, pronounced infamous, and incapable of giving evidence, those who play at dice, "et qui tabernas velut natales lares et proprios eligerant." "Volumus inter infames haberi, ita ut nec ad testimonium nec ad officium aliquod publicum admittantur †." The law was to protect the holy manners, which in turn were to supply it with power; therefore it even at times bore the stamp of a sacerdotal tenderness, as in the decree that oaths were not to be required in regard to tithes, for fear of perjury—"Juramento eos constringi nolumus propter periculum perjurii ‡." So imbued was Catholic law with the spirit of St. Augustin, who says, that he who induces those to swear who he knows will perjure themselves, are worse than murderers, for they kill the soul of others as also their own §.

Here were men, like these grave jurists of Bologna, who, on being consulted as to the means of reconciling Charles VII. and Henry VI., replied, that Charles could not have concluded the treaty of Troyes for this reason, that "the laws declare null and void oaths contrary to good manners, and that the treaty besides contained an impious clause—the engagement of the father not to treat with his son without the consent of the English." The Church, in the zenith of her temporal power, interposed to promote, as far as possible, the realization of the noble and religious character which she associated with the profession of the law. In 1237, the council of London decreed as follows: "We order that whoever will desire to obtain the office of a lawyer, ought to present himself to the diocesan, and to take oath before him that in all causes in which he is employed he will exercise a faithful ministry, not delaying or destroying the action of justice towards the opposite party, but in defending his client by the laws and solid reasons ‖." In the reign of Charles VIII. an ordonnance was passed in France, entitled, "On the modesty which advocates must evince in pleading, refraining from all injurious words." In the Livre des Assises de Jerusalem, the advocate is charged to plead with discretion, honesty, and courteously—sagement et leiaument et corteisement; that he should not plead wrongfully against right wittingly, nor plead falsely, nor offer any false proofs, nor wittingly take away the

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* Ivon. Carnot, ep. 186.

† Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 804.

‡ Capit. Carl. Mag. ii. c. 38.

§ Serm. ii. de Sanct.

‖ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1237.

right from him against whom he pleads. In 1274, a French ordonnance required all advocates to swear upon the Holy Gospels that they would support causes only so long as they believed them to be just, but abandon them when they discovered that they were not. Such was the early Christian maxim. By an edict of Justinian, the advocates were required to swear, at the commencement of a trial, that they would not uphold a cause that was villanous, and that they would abandon a case if it proved to be so*. The law of Spain imposed on them a similar oath †. Anciently, every serjeant-at-law in England was subject to the same obligation ‡. Camus says, that the cabinet of a lawyer is a private tribunal, where he judges causes before he engages to defend them; and old English lawyers, like Sir John Davys, are clearly disposed to take these less complicated views of the advocate's duty, following what he styles "the good council of the schoolman Thomas Aquinas." Distinguished men in modern times maintain a contrary proposition. "Mighty masters in the art affirm that no gentleman ought to refuse to defend a panel whatever be the nature of his crime. Every thing," say they, "must be sacrificed to the protection of his client, even though judgment may be perverted, the hands of violence and robbery strengthened, the edge of the sword of justice abated, great offenders acquitted, gracious and virtuous men molested and injured." They cite the Protestant Grotius, who holds it lawful to deceive, and the Protestant Puffendorf, who permits the advocate to produce false laws or false authorities, alleging, forsooth, that it is the duty of the judge to detect them. They might cite a heathen also, Cicero, who without adopting such extreme views, contends that a falsehood, told to save an unfortunate citizen from ruin, ought not to be too severely blamed; but, while great Protestant authorities favour the latitude to which the conscience of some advocates lays claim, and Catholic jurisconsults oppose it, saying, with Molena, that an advocate cannot even take advantage of technicalities to maintain an unjust cause §, the mind of dispassionate and disinterested observers can hardly fail to be impressed with a conviction that it is the ancient Catholic wisdom rather than the modern philosophy which lays down the true theory of an advocate's profession, declaring, in opposition to it, that to gain a victory for his client is not the sole duty of a lawyer; and that though it is for him to supply materials out of which a decision is to be formed by others, and not to adjudicate, still he ought not to do for his client what that client cannot, without moral turpitude, do for himself.

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* Cod. iii. i. 14.

† Forsyth, Hortensius.

‡ Miroir des Justices, c. 2, § 5.

§ De Justitia ap. Forsyth.

But generally we see proof of the prodigious action of Catholicity in rendering strict, virtuous, and holy the character of the advocate. When secular honours were attached to the profession in France, the knight of laws was required to swear that he would never use his insignia in profane occupations, but in maintaining the rights of the Church and the Christian faith, and in the service of learning. The French lawyer, on being inscribed on the roll of advocates, engaged never to undertake just and unjust causes alike, without distinction, nor maintain any with tricks, fallacies, and misquotations; he was not to set too high a price upon his services; he was not to lead a dissipated life, or one contrary to the modesty and gravity of his calling. He was not, under pain of being disbarred, to refuse his services to the indigent and oppressed. In the Mirroir des Justices, written in the reign of Edward II., it is laid down that a pleader or lawyer must be a person "receivable in judgment; no heretic, nor excommunicate man. He is to be charged by oath that he will not maintain nor defend what is wrong or false to his knowledge; he is to put in before the court no delays nor false evidence, nor move nor offer any corruptions, deceits, nor consent to any such."

In fine, Catholicity has inscribed on sacred dypticks, enrolled among her holy pontiffs, the names of men who followed this profession: Ives de Kaermartin being canonized as a saint, and Gui Foucault, after gaining celebrity as an advocate, having been advanced to the triple crown as Pope Clement IV. Catholicity could even bend forensic manners to the charity of the Gospel. Many faithful lawyers have been noted as great almoners. Matthieu Chartrier used to put into the poor-box every month one hundred francs out of the fees that he received; Guy Coquille, Sieur de Romenay, gave in charity the tithe of his professional income—il décimoit son gain mis en bourse pour les pauvres honteux; and Manquin used to bestow upon the poor the fees he gained upon certain days *.

We may remark, too, that Catholicity produced within those walls appropriated to judicial study men of conscience so delicate, and honour so exalted, that they would inflict on themselves the penalty which might be awarded unjustly to a client when they could not save him. Such men are found to this day in France: one of them, known personally to the stranger, whom with regret, for obvious reasons, he forbears to name; but Boulogne boasts of him as her deputy. Spain and Italy, as holy dypticks tell, had men whose piety not even such practice could satisfy; therefore some withdrew altogether from secular courts, and others confined their ministry to wise counsels and pacific

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* Ap. Forsyth, Hortensius.

remonstrance, leaving to all an example of every virtue. The father of Marina de Escobar was one of the latter class. James of Escobar, of the city of Rodriguo, was advocate in the royal chancellery of Valladolid, and professor of civil and canon law; but he would not act as a lawyer—eo quod esset quam timoratissimæ conscientiæ, as the venerable Father Lewis de Ponte said. He only lectured therefore, and showed himself an example to the scholastic youth, of modesty, gravity, tranquillity, and moderation. He wrote out the following rules for his own life. "For the first thing, when I rise in the morning, I will say my prayers and invoke the blessed Virgin, and repair to mass, and on festivals to the sermon, which I will hear attentively and devoutly, beseeching God to give me grace to serve Him. I resolve, wherever I may be, not to consent to murmurings, to prevent and reprove swearing, to give good advice, to pardon offences, and, above all, to suffer and bear with equanimity injuries, afflictions, and adversities; also daily to visit some sick person and console him, and assist him as far as I am able; to visit the afflicted for the sake of comforting them; to follow the dead to their burial; to give alms with cheerfulness to every one who asks from me; to receive to hospitality the poor wanting a lodging whom I may chance to find on the roads and public places, and to give them food, and drink, and clothing, considering that I receive thus into my house Christ, whom the poor man represents—to take care that no one leaves me sad and desolate, but rather joyful and refreshed; to wear sackcloth or a rope next my flesh, to take the discipline once a week, to fast not only on the prescribed days, but also on the vigil of every feast of the blessed Virgin, and, if I can, on the Fridays; to endeavour, as far as I can, to hinder litigation, and to apply myself diligently to that study, not to act tyrannically with litigators, to speak to them courteously and in a friendly manner; to dictate scholastic readings for the advantage of my pupils; in fine, to contemplate the life and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; to be grateful to God for the benefits I receive from Him, and to love Him for his goodness *."

Methinks it is needless to pursue this road farther. We might observe how Catholicity invested the judicial character, and that of the advocate, with even a secular dignity; and, indeed, without laying stress on the early imperial edicts which admitted those who had exercised the profession to the order of counts of the first rank, and amongst the clarissimi of the state †, it is impossible not to be struck with the honours enjoyed by advocates in France under the old Catholic monarchy. "No where," says an English author, "has the profession of the law

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[*] Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, lib. i. c. 1.

[†] Cod. ii. tit. vii. 8.

achieved for itself a prouder position than in France in former times *." But this dignity must not be separated from the manners which belonged to that nobility of the robe, and it is in observation of their super-eminence under the influence of Catholicity that our investigations on this road should end. If men are not attracted by the character which Catholicism and divine faith impart to legal studies and to legal administration, let them retrace their steps, and they will have many now to accompany them ; thinking that Catholicity is put down, and, as a celebrated French philosopher said to an English brother, that it should be kept down ; but what a contrast will be unfolded by the objects then in view ! by the manners then substituted ; by the associates with whom they will then be united ! for the men of the old Gentile type, the Crassus's and Hortensius's, who availed themselves of forgery ; the men of the Satanic type, who produce false laws and false authorities ; the men of the old persecuting mediæval type, the " anticipators of the reformation," still abound. In the outset we have observed a few—genus infinitum. These are the guides who will talk of the severity, and barbarism, and hardness of the ancient tribunals. Ah ! yes ; their's indeed would now sound as a hard voice to many, including even some strange peers of England, who propose the example of a diseased or rather mad democracy, to the monarchies of Europe—Dura vox, dura vox ; but much harder, nevertheless, is that which now re-echoes through the world—Salvi sint improbi, scelerati, impii : deleantur innocentes, honesti, boni, tota respublica. And what a contrast in the promises which entice them from Catholicity ! the promises of the new advocates who fill the ranks of every insurrection against what was most sacred, as the ancient orator says, injure those who expect as well as those who promise—Nos—libertatem, jura, leges, judicia, imperium, dignitatem, pacem, otium pollicemur. What are the promises of these men ? Cruenta, tætra, scelerata, Deo hominibusque invisa, nec diuturna nec salutaria ; nostra contra, honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena lætitiæ, plena pietatis †. Would you seek another alternative, and appeal to the justice and order of the tribunals, which have only cast off their allegiance to the Catholic Church ? Vain subterfuge. Protestantism, by abolishing the papal authority, prepared the way not alone for a return of the Pagan civilization, confounding the two powers, the separation of which was precisely the grand work of Christendom, but by the license of opinions resulting from that abolition, it left society defenceless and unarmed, except as far as the influence of old habits could extend, so that the question becomes not alone how the maintenance of law and the administration of

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* Forsyth, Hortensius, or the Advocate.

† Cicero, Phil. viii.

justice between individuals and nations can be secured, but whether the end of our debates will be the preservation or the overthrow of civilization itself.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROAD OF WARRIORS.

JUSTITIÆNE prius mirer belline laborum *? The passage at least is short by a cross-path from the last to the present road. The forest has its labours of enmities. It is the ancient naturalist who remarks how war is found between its trees. The oak and the olive maintain, he says, such a pertinacious hatred for each other, that they die if planted in the same trench. Mortal enmity exists also between the vine and certain plants †. The forest has its associations with the war of men, though one might suppose at first that under the shade of these boughs, at least, all was peace; since, as Possevin says of the rustics in Sweden, men travelling through such regions carry axes instead of swords; and even soldiers cannot use lances, so that the very constitution of royal armies is modified by the forest; for he says of the army in that country, " Pauci ob sylvarum densitatem hastati ‡." The living timber, however, can at all events recall the memory of war. The yew, wych-hazel, ash, or laburnum, can remind us of the time when every Englishman, and Irishman dwelling with Englishmen, was directed by Edward IV. to have a bow of his own height, made of such wood; and these noble walnut trees we know are always in great danger when a war breaks out in modern times, which leads to governmental orders for providing fresh stocks of fire-arms. These different trunks correspond thus with the progress of destructive inventions. The poets of old, indeed, associated certain trees with war, as the ash, that once was held to be ennobled by the spear of Achilles; and the cornel tree, of which Virgil says

———— " et bona bello
Cornus ——§."

These reeds, too, delighting, as Pliny remarks, in cold and watery

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* Æn. xi. 126. † Plin. N. H. xxiv. 1.

‡ Possevin, Suetiæ Narratio ap. Thierier La Suède et le St. Siège.

§ Georg. ii. 447.

places, as in the stagnant pools within the forest, where stags and roebuck quench their thirst, were once deemed as necessary to the purposes of war as to those of peace and grateful delight; "for with reeds," he observes, "the Easterns make war; to reeds they add the irrevocable noxious hook. It is with feathers added to these reeds that they hasten death; it is with these arms they obscure the sun; it is on account of these that they chiefly desire serene days, and that they hate winds and showers, which compel them to be at peace with one another *." The forest has also its trophies of war associated with the name of kingdoms; for the title of Aragon did not always belong to all that region of Spain, but "Suprarbiensis Regni" was the name which it obtained, from the red cross that appeared over an oak tree in the great battle fought in 724, when Garsias Eximinus I. vanquished the army of the Moors, and became the first of the seven kings of Sobrarbe, who subsequently governed part of Navarre, under that name, until it was united to the county of Aragon, which thenceforth gave its name to the whole territory †. Moreover, the forest has its incidents, which correspond no less with thoughts of war. We hear of one woody region in which many ancient graves were discernible, at a vast open tract, where, in the few oak trees scattered here and there over the plain, huge eagles had built their nests, the beating of whose heavy wings as they fought together, and their wild screams, were heard far off beyond the wilderness. Within yon forest is a gloomy glen. Each tree, which guards its darkness from the day, waves over a warrior's tomb. The forest has, besides, its glimpses occasionally of the recent consequences of human war—

"There tracks of blood,
Even to the forest's depth, and scatter'd arms,
And lifeless warriors, mark the dreadful path."

Every track through the forest may be said to have its sanguine stain, for "Super omnes vias deserti venerunt vastatores terræ ‡." Dante seems to have in mind such traces, when saying,

"We, while he spake, ceased not our onward road."

Still passing through the wood—

"——We were not far
On this side from the summit, when I saw
A flame, that o'er the darken'd hemisphere
Prevailing shined——§."

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* Id. xvi. 65. † Hieron. Blanca, Aragon. Rerum Comment. 15.
‡ Hieron. § Infern. 4.

In the Breton chant of Lez-Breiz, the child, on seeing a knight suddenly appearing in the wood, armed cap-a-pie, thinks that it must be St. Michael the archangel, whom he saw that morning represented in the church. But such startling phantoms soon disclose their earthly origin, as when the faithful soldiers of poor Charles X. were driven out of Paris, and some half-famished fugitives were found within the forest of St. Germain by a holy priest, who took his lonely stroll there contemplating. In earthly forests too it might have been Dante's chance before to see—

"Horsemen, with martial order, shifting camp,
To onset sallying, or in muster ranged;
And clashing tournaments, and tilting jousts;
Now with the sound of trumpets, now of bells,
Tabors, and signals made from castle'd heights [*]."

Thus prepared must every one be even in the natural wood for coming to this road of warriors, which presents itself in life to the choice or destiny of men, with the certainty of being followed by many, who little think on entering it of the great glorious end to which it may conduct their steps. "Magnus est in republica campus, ut sapienter dicere Crassus solebat; multis apertus cursus ad laudem [†]." The road of arms engages many; and it is in observing the signals pointing to the Catholic Church, which are standing along it, that we have now to occupy ourselves.

It would be vain to deny, that on this road exists attraction, in an inverse sense, from that which would lead men to the centre. Blood can attract them: terrible reality! Were we to doubt it, there would soon be met proof in the palpable shape of that man whom the muse of Æschylus so awfully describes, as revering his lance more than God:

——αἰχμὴν, ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ
σέβειν πεποιθώς [‡].

The spectators, we are told, used to depart from that tragedy breathing the very spirit of Mars, with an absolute passion or rage for war. That passion was deemed the chief good of nations; so that the Trojan war was a happy event, says Menelaus, for it made the Greeks experienced in war, and formed them to be warriors [§]:

"Ardua per præceps gloria vadit iter,
Hectora quis nosset, si felix Troja fuisset [‖]?"

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[*] Id. i. 22.
[†] Phil. xiv.
[‡] Sept. c. Theb. 529.
[§] Andr. 683.
[‖] Trist. iv. 3.

Tyrtæus says that he esteems only warriors, and that he cannot endure those who would not love to look bloody death in the face, and to come to hands with the enemy—

> οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην,
> ὃς μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνοιτ' ἀεὶ
> ὡς οὐδαμῶς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνεχόμενος, οἳ μὴ
> τολμήσουσι μὲν ὁρᾷν φόνον αἱματόεντα, καὶ δηΐων
> ὀρέγοιντ' ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενοι.

This however was allowing himself ample scope for amity, since he who embraced all who loved war, and all who, like Pyrrhus, never knew nor studied any other science but that of war, could not have been straitened by his limits. Epaminondas called Bœotia the theatre of Mars; Xenophon called Ephesus the arsenal of war; and Plutarch calls Rome the abode of the god of war, which the new barbarians and others favouring them, if they had only courage, would wish again to make it. In Gaul, as elsewhere, the smallest Roman town became a place of war,—a miniature image of the capital, fostering military habits only, and the passion for hostile agitation. The brazen age—

"Sævior ingeniis, et ad horrida promptior arma *"—

passes not away with the legal establishment of paganism. Still in part remain, as Frederic Barbarossa styles them, the German who even in peace brandishes his weapon, the Saxon who plays with battles, the Lorrainois who suffers peace impatiently, the Burgundian ever restless, the Bohemian who dies in battle laughing, and the Pole, more ferocious than the wild animals of his country †. Shakspeare paints from the life, ascribing to a pagan the words—"Let me have war, say I; it exceeds peace as far as day does night; it's sprightly, waking, audible, and full of vent. Peace is a very apoplexy, lethargy; mulled, deaf, sleepy, insensible; peace makes men hate one another." So as Spenser complains—

"——Then oft it falles, that strong
And valiant knights doe rashly enterprize,
Either for fame or else for exercise,
A wrongfull quarrell to maintaine by fight;
Yet have, through prowesse and their brave emprize,
Gotten great worship in this worlde's sight,
For greater force there needs to maintaine wrong than right."

Paganism is even formerly invoked for its examples, as in Talbot's threat—"France shall be wretched only in my name; I will

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* Met. i. 6.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1188.

Nero-like, play on the lute beholding her towns burn." It is in the same spirit that he pays his vow to the shade of Salisbury, by killing five Frenchmen for every drop of blood they drew from him; and, in fine, that, as a monument, he swears he will erect in the chief church of Orleans a tomb to contain his body, on which shall be engraved the sack of Orleans. Bedford, invocating the ghost of Henry V., declares that a far more glorious star his soul will make than Julius Cæsar. Revolutions emanating from the idea that from this time forth their thoughts should be bloody, or they would be nothing worth, turn to the same models still, as the poet can attest, when speaking of his chief impression as a child on seeing Napoleon:

"——Cet homme souverain
Passer, muet et grave, ainsi qu'un Dieu d'airain."

Homer only teaches us that many who neglect their domestic administration enrich themselves by unjust ways, as in the boast—I have never loved the care of my house or fields; my pleasure has been to spread terror and carnage *. But the very love of house and fields is often combined with the love of war, as some affirm could be proved in Marlborough. Self-interest, at all events, in some shape or other, can make alliance with the old passion. "Some are so subdued by cruel cupidity," says the council of Lateran, "that while boasting of the Christian name, they supply the Saracens with arms, and provide them with means for attacking the Christians: other Christians serve them as pilots for their piratical warfare; all of whom must be solemnly excommunicated in every maritime city." The Duc de Biron, after his condemnation, confessed that he had wished war—" Bien estoit vray qu'il avoit plus desiré la guerre que la paix, pour se rendre necessaire et conserver la reputation qu'il l'estoit acquise par l'exercise des armes †." Whole nations as well as individuals desire war for the same reason, often even through the mere love of self-enrichment, passing even in this respect beyond the limits which pagan models might prescribe; for Plutarch says in his life of Paulus Emilius, that "every one felt horror at the issue of a war in which a whole nation had been ruined, in order to procure only eleven drachms a head for each Roman soldier." Augustus ascribed the success of his arms to Apollo, but Midas, since the sixteenth century, is the god of many victories.

So far those who would escape the influence of all Catholic attraction, and turn to a side from which no glimpse of the Church, glorifying the Prince of Peace, is possible, seem to have a road expressly provided for them, where due success attends their

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* Od. xiv. 222.

† Mat. Paris, Hist. de Henry IV., V.

perseverance. After a few steps further on, however, they will be undeceived again, and constrained to behold, as from other paths, the loveliness and truth they fly from. For, in the first place, it remains certain that the yearning of nature is for peace. even when it seeks interest by a war, as can be witnessed in the daughter of Nisus—

"Læter, ait, doleamne geri lacrymabile bellum
In dubio est : doleo quod Minos hostis amanti est :
Sed nisi bella forent, nunquam mihi cognitus esset !
Me tamen acceptâ poterat deponere bellum
Obside ; me comitem, me pacis pignus haberet *."

"Look on the earth—all things speak peace, harmony, and love. The universe, in nature's silent eloquence, declares that all fulfil the works of love and joy—all but man, who fabricates the sword which stabs his peace." Yet man, even the Gentile man, and the Gentile hero, has, at the bottom of his heart, the same longing, in accordance with the high solemn words of Sophocles—

ὄφελε πρότερον αἰθέρα δῦ-
ναι μέγαν, ἢ τὸν πολύκοινον Ἅιδαν
κεῖνος ἀνήρ, ὃς στυγερῶν
ἔδειξ᾽ ὅπλων
Ἕλλασιν κοινὸν Ἄρη.
ἰὼ πόνοι πρόγονοι πόνων,
κεῖνος γὰρ ἔπερσεν ἀνθρώπους †.

"The first battle that we read of having been fought in the world," says Antonio de Guevara, "was in the savage valley where now the dead sea flows ; so that 1800 years had passed before men assembled to give regular battle to each other ‡." War is not therefore so natural and essential to mankind as some suppose ; nor can classic authorities be cited to support their opinion, for though indeed it is a Christian who says "there is a fulle cursed peple ; for thei delyten in ne thing more than for to fighten and to sle men, and the mo men that a man may slee the more worschipe he hathe amonges him," the pagan poet would have similarly qualified them, as in the lines—"It is a hateful race, insatiable of battles, *μάχης τ᾽ ἄπληστον*." It is the hero himself of paganism who, with a groan, concludes—

"Nos alias hinc ad lacrymas eadem horrida belli
Fata vocant §."

In the treaty which Porsenna made with the Roman people, it

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* Met. viii. 1.

† Ajax, 1191.

‡ L'Horloge des Princes, lib. i. 238.

§ Æn. xi. 96.

was stipulated "Ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur*." But though this might be for precaution or for ignominy, the heathen founders of states are represented as recognizing the latter usage as the far happier alternative, as when four horses on the plain are seen on first reaching the Italian shore :—

"Et pater Anchises ; Bellum, O terra hospita, portas ;
Bello armantur equi ; bellum hæc armenta minantur ;
Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
Quadrupedes, et fræna jugo concordia ferre ;
Spes et pacis, ait†."

From pagan historians, philosophers, and poets, it would be easy to collect passages to prove that the Catholic view of war must have attractions. How wonderful, for instance, is that figure of Numa rising up in the very infancy of Rome, thus early struggling to escape to the pacific glory that awaited her in Christian ages!

"Sacrificos docuit ritus, gentemque feroci
Assuetam bello, pacis traduxit ad artes‡."

I might show how Gentile men, like Xenophon, avowedly deemed it wise to refrain from war, even though there may be grievous causes of war, as he expressly says§. I might continue to cite evidence, as in the lines—"O peace! sweet companion of the graces; long time I was ignorant of thy beauty. May love unite me to thee‖!" But it is more to our purpose to hear the admissions of the men themselves who are wholly devoted to the exercise of war. It is not alone the parent or the ideal hero who exclaims :

"Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui
Dura rudimenta¶!"

It is the soldier, the general himself, who feels the same impressions; it is Marcellus, the first indeed perhaps who showed that the Romans had more justice than the Greeks, lamenting the pillage of Syracuse, though his humanity was limited, as appears from the Excerpta περὶ Γνομῶν, published by Mai; it is Camillus expressing horror at the injustice and violence consequent on war, saying that war ought to have its laws, that victory must not be sought by impious means, and finding his chief confidence in war to arise from the conviction that the Romans had taken arms only in self-defence; it is the senate and the voice of the whole people invoking, in their treaties and political formulas, eternal peace, saying, "Ut pia et æterna pax sit**." Plautius, the consul, asked the people of Privernum what peace they wished with the Romans. "Si bonam dederitis," they replied, "perpetuam††." "Anoint my eyes with the balm

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* Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 39. † Æn. iii. 539. ‡ Met. xv. 11.
§ De Rebus Gestis Græc. ‖ Aristoph. Achar. ¶ Æn. xi. 156.
** Cicero pro Balbo. †† Val. Max. vi.

of peace," exclaims the labourer, himself too a soldier, whom the Greek poet represents invoking it *. And, in fact, the pacific idea can be traced not only in the fecial priests instituted by Numa to be the guardians of peace, but in the very objects of Roman ambition; for, with them, the command of an army was an office not more coveted by their consuls than that of the consecrator of a temple. "The laurel," says Pliny, "which tree alone has the honour of giving a name to Romans, is peace-bearing—ipsa pacifera, ut quam prætendi etiam inter armatos hostes quietis sit indicium. Honour," he continues, "is ascribed to it in triumphs rather on this account, and because it wards off thunder, than for the reason that it mingles with the blood of conquerors. Therefore it is that in profane uses it must never be polluted †." Athens was named after Minerva, in consequence of her having produced what was deemed a more valuable gift for it in the olive than Neptune had conferred in that of the horse. You think to escape from feeling the attraction of Catholicity by invoking the warlike spirit of the ancients, but the ground beneath your feet fails you; for hear Cicero: "Nothing can be so popular as what I bring you—peace, tranquillity, leisure, —non modo vos eritis in otio, qui semper, esse volueritis, verum etiam, istos, quibus, otiosi negotium facessimus, otiosissimos reddam. Etenim, ut circumspiciamus omnia, quæ populo grata atque jucunda sunt; nihil tam populare quam pacem, quam concordiam, quam otium reperiemus. Quid enim est tam populare quam pax? qua non modo ii, quibus natura sensum dedit, sed etiam tecta atque agri mihi lætari videntur. Quid tam populare quam otium? quod ita jucundum est, ut et vos, et majores vestri, et fortissimus quisque vir, maximos labores suscipiendos putet ut aliquando in otio possit esse ‡." He is not solitary, in modern times, who feels it impossible, however he might wish, to imitate the poet—

"Negligens, ne qua populus laboret:"

or follow his prescription—

"Dona præsentis rape lætus horæ, et
Linque severa."

Dearly he would purchase deliverance from the daily necessity of inquiring not now indeed what foreign nations agitate, but what the lovers of war in his own country may require, and, in consequence, what are the rumours of war that fill the city. Catholicity has sounds that please innumerable men far better. "I praise," they say, with Antonio de Guevara, "and will ever

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* Aristoph. Achar. † N. H. xv. 40. ‡ Cont. Rullum.

praise, not those who discovered the art of war, and invented arms for pursuing it, but those who invented letters to teach science, and made peace between princes. What a difference between wetting a pen in ink, and dyeing a lance in the blood of a fellow-creature—between being surrounded with books, and encompassed with arms*." "In the month of June," says William of Newbury, adding with an audible sigh, "quando solent reges ad bella procedère†." "During the summer," says Ethelwald, writing to St. Aldhelm, "while this miserable country, under the devastation of envy, was everywhere miserably laid waste by hostile expeditions, I remained in your society through the desire of reading along with you." Sidonius Apollinaris had not his courage, for he lâments that he cannot write a poem, on account of the hostility of the barbarians—placed as he is amidst such hairy crowds and fierce looks‡. And the heathen poet felt the same sorrow, with greater privations—

> "Non hic librorum, per quos inviter alarque
> Copia: pro libris arcus et arma sonant§."

Hearts will respond to a chord the Church knows how to strike when all else but war is silent—

> "No lone-warbled breath of twilight lute,
> Scared by the fife and rumbling drum's alarms,
> And the short thunder, and the flash of arms."

Minds will open to receive long-rejected truth, when every thing else proclaims its own nothingness:

> "————Fremitu regalia turbæ
> Atria complentur; nec, conjugalia festa
> Qui canat, est clamor; sed qui fera nunciet arma‖."

Then, like the dew of heaven, will descend, with all blest influences attending the words of holy Catholics, reminding the troubled heart of the peace which the world cannot give, saying, with the guide of pious rustics, "When the temporal peace is disturbed between princes, a good Christian ought not to grieve too much for this, or be discouraged, provided he be not involved in the crime; but he should turn himself to the peace of the saints, which Christ left to his disciples¶."

But wars are inevitable, and men to serve in them must be found. Recall past events—what has been the history of the world but the history of wars? and how can we expect to find,

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* L'Horloge des Princes, Discours. prel.

† Rer. Ang. ii. 28.

‡ Op. 307.

§ Trist. iii. 13.

‖ Met. v. 1.

¶ De Regimine Rusticorum.

some will now ask, on the road of those who are engaged in them signals pointing to the Catholic Church, and to the divine truth of its religion? Undoubtedly here, as on every other road of life, attraction and resistance, justice and violence, constitute the order of human events. "Prosequentes," says St. Gregory of Tours, "ordinem temporum mixte confuseque tam virtutes sanctorum quam strages gentium memoramus *."

Men who wish to turn from the sweet majesty of peace, can find upon this track covers that one might suppose were sufficiently dense to shut it out effectually from view,—

"Hic lacus, hi montes, hæc tot castella, tot amnes,
Plena feræ cædis, plena cruoris erant †."

Force may be no longer the only title; the immense confederacy of Christendom may have supplanted the whole pagan separations which made Plato say, that "by nature every state is always armed against those that surround it, and that peace is only a name ‡:"

—— "sed enim temeraria crescunt
Bella, modusque abiit, insanaque regnat Erynnis §."

Richard of St. Germain begins his chronicle by observing, how mixed with wars is the whole order of human life. "I have compiled this volume," he says, "that posterity may learn to fear always war in the midst of peace, and again to hope for peace after war,"—

"Pax tamen interdum, pacis fiducia nunquam est ||."

Such is the state of

———— "This petty area, o'er
The which we stride so fiercely ¶."

Oppression and sword-law proceeded thus, even through the middle ages. The Church might often have described her situation in the words of the poet,—

"Omnia solliciti sunt loca plena metus.
Utque fugax avidis cervus deprensus ab ursis,
Cinctave montanis ut pavet aqua lupis;
Sic ego belligeris a gentibus undique septus
Terreor **."

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* Hist. lib. ii.
† Ovid. Trist. iv. 2.
‡ De Legibus, lib. i.
§ Met. xi. 1.
|| Ap. D. Gat. Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 779.
¶ Dante, Par. 22.
** Ovid. Trist. iii. 11.

"The King Henry," says Matthieu Paris, "become a new Lycurgus, caused to be torn up the vines which constituted the chief riches of the Gascons, his enemies, and razed to the ground castles and houses [*]." "King Edward," says the same historian, "would receive no humble overtures from the Welsh; but, animating his knights, and unfurling his royal standard, he advanced in arms like a dragon which spares no one, menacing the country with a general extermination [†]." Again, on occasion of other wars, he says, "I should not have inserted these details in the Chronicles of England, if I had not been struck with the horrible effusion of Christian blood, which was shed in countries near England [‡]." Already the compassion of the monastic historian might be remarked, as breaking the obscurity of these interposing boughs; and the same glimpse at Catholicity can be had in traversing all such pages, of which William of Newbury supplies a striking instance, where he says, "A contention between the kings of France and England now arose, which involved many people; for when each nation was zealous for its prince, they were as much excited against each other, as if each was seeking its own private interest, emolument, or glory, or revenging its own injury; and they assembled in force, animated with a ferocious spirit, through wondrous folly about to shed their blood for the glory, or rather for the pride, of their kings. For what more insane than to be so zealous for the vain glory, not even of themselves but of another? and what more iniquitous or miserable than for the advantage, or rather for the naked pride of one man, so many thousand Christians should be in danger [§]?" Catholicism pierces through the gloom no less in the few parenthetical words of the earlier historian, where St. Gregory of Tours, in allusion to similar events, says, "Tedet me bellorum civilium diversitates quæ Francorum gentem et regnum valde proterunt memorare [||]."

But not to take advantage of such gleams, which further on will break into open day, let us proceed through the gloom where men who most love war may find congenial shades. "I love France so well," exclaims King Henry the Fifth, "that I will not part with a village of it; I will have it all mine." Such words promise no speedy issues to a recognition of truth by the love of peace. "Externa libentius in tali re quam domestica recordor." Here then the signals point to what the marginal notes of later historians term—belles escarmouches—that is, to some cruel sanguinary combat, to some conqueror—tuant

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[*] Ad ann. 1235.

[†] Ad ann. 1257.

[‡] Ad ann. 1254.

[§] Guil. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. iii. 13.

[||] Lib. v.

et massacrant tout ce qu'il trouvoit *. They point to the demolition of sacred edifices, as at Metz, when, to secure that city from Charles V., the French commander caused to be destroyed three monasteries, seven parish churches, ten chapels, three priories without the city, and seventeen abbeys within it, though, it is true, the heroic Guise, bare-headed, with torch in hand, walked in a general procession previously to assist at the removal of the sacred vessels and of the holy relicks. They point to a certain glad snatching at facilities for reaping, as legitimate booty, things consecrated to religion, which Protestantism first offered warriors; as when the artillerymen of Henry IV., on the taking of Noyon in 1591, pretended that by the laws of war all the church bells belonged to them, and required a thousand gold crowns to ransom them, on which occasion the Church had to sell its possessions to meet this expense, which usage was restored by Napoleon in 1807, on the taking of Dantzic †.

When revolutions, the fruit of new opinions, had driven out kings, and proclaimed a more fraternal reign, the wars which followed to propagate impiety seemed to offer depths far more profound, through which no glimpse at Catholicity could be apprehended. The people themselves, for the first time, appeared in the character of a warlike power, seeking by war to extend their ideas, and make in every other country a naked desert like their own. Now, as in the time of Marius at Rome, one expects the barbarians in the spring, that is, men, who by renouncing Christianity, have returned to a savage state. War however soon assumes its old form, and the people, yielding up their unnatural and visionary sovereignty, resume their constrained service, and ancient crimes succeed,—

"Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, tot bella per orbem,
Tam multæ scelerum facies; non ullus aratro
Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem ‡."

Thus fame has been achieved with great renown on earth, while what most merits fame is hid in silence. Mars is again in the ascendant; their very treaties, as of old, smell of naval preparations,—

ὄζουσι πίττης καὶ παρασκευῆς νεῶν §.

But evil by its excess forebodes a change. Jugurtha led captive,

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* Paradin. Contin. de l'Hist. de Nostre Temps, 164.

† Moët de la Forte-Maison, Antiquités de Noyon.

‡ Georg. i. 504. § Achar. 190.

during the march of the triumph, lost his senses. Conquerors themselves are now the victims, so the world breathes again, until the ceaseless oscillation of calamity brings back the prospect of fresh wars of a new character. Then, under the banners of material prosperity and order, instead of pilgrimages, we read of military promenades, or what are termed pacific demonstrations, with arms in hand, when each capital becomes a fortress and a camp, and without armies ever ready for a battle there is no security for opening shops. But we have sufficiently ascertained the depth and density of the wilderness through which our road passes,—

> "Bella satis cecini : citharam jam poscit Apollo,
> Victor, et ad placidos exuit arma choros."

The multitudes whom war has thus employed for so many successive ages, and who have preceded us on this stern road, have passed however, all the while, many signals pointing to the Catholic Church, and many breaks through which they could have beheld its charm.

In the first place war, by its very horror, furnishes a way to Catholicity, which some in every age will be found to follow. O how many a bright and glorious panoply, how many a silken richly-embroidered mantle, how many a lofty waving plume was to be seen in some, at least, of the scenes we have been passing by! These are not the issues which we are come to mark. No sad disgust or medicinal horror can find scope for revealing truth when armies are seen only passing thus,—

> "In brave aray and goodly amenance,
> With scutchens gilt, and banners broad display'd,
> The whiles shril trompets and loud clarions sweetly play'd."

Then each one cries,—

> "Faire sheilds, gay steedes, bright armes, be my delight,
> These be the riches fit for an advent'rous knight."

And it must be confessed that, while the blood mantles in the cheek, all seems fair and well amidst floating banners, pompous heralds, comely pages, quaint devices, according to what William of Newbury styles, "The military meditations of kings, vulgarly called tournaments*." But, even supposing that nothing of all this were changed, war has other pictures which those who know it best can best appreciate. "You were not at Pavia," Francis I. used to say when urged to recommence his wars †.

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* Guil. Neub. Rer. Ang. lib. v. 4.

† Laur. Beyerlinck, Apophth. Christ.

Before three years I shall be a monk, said Charles V., on leaving the trenches after the last assault on Metz. Do men now follow some great leader—*βροτολοιγῷ ἶσον Ἄρηϊ?*

——— "The smoke
Of burning towns, the cries of female helplessness,
Unarmed old age, and youth, and infancy
Horribly massacred, ascend to heaven
In honour of his name."—

It is one of those occasions, as a poet says, "When men's souls look out of them and show them as they are—even in their faces." Then be assured there is a thought swift as the lightning and lustrous as the sunbeam, which directs more than one human heart of the bravest stamp to that great contrast existing in the Catholic idea of a church, a house of peace on earth, offering to men of good will not occupations such as these but peace. O how changed will now be some whom luxury had long entangled! In sloth and vicious repose you found no vista to disclose truth. God is merciful to you.

"Flamma tibi ferrumque dabunt iter *."

"C'est injustice et impieté," says that great French historian. Pierre Mathieu, recognizing this issue, "de contraindre des peuples de chercher la voye de leur salut entre les foudres et les esclairs du canon †." He takes however for granted the direction which such sounds furnish; and doubtless they who love peace, like Diceopolis with the poet, only for its luxuries and its vices ‡, might recognize, for the first time upon the field of battle, grace still offered, and the angel that was to guide them to the truth; for there are men who, only by means of some new and mighty impulse of remorse and pity, wrenching off inveterate habits, can tear for themselves a passage to it through the flinty ribs of this hard world. For this escape they must be indebted to some one of these men or ideas, whose images or symbols are now in the public squares, set up in bronze—*μιάστορ' ὥς τιν'*,—having, as Peleus says, like an evil genius, sacrificed innumerable souls to its ambition, making once happy parents childless,—

ψυχὰς δὲ πολλὰς κἀγαθὰς ἀπώλεσας,
παίδων τ' ἄπαιδας γραῦς ἔθηκας ἐν δόμοις,
πολιούς τ' ἀφείλου πατέρας εὐγενῆ τέκνα §.

It is under the pressure of that Homeric calamity in the hour of

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* Met. xv. 10.
† Hist. de Henry IV. lib. i.
‡ Achar.
§ Androm. 610.

success, when hearing, as at Towton, that seven brothers born to one house, as to the stranger's, are all in one day cut off,—

οἱ μὲν πάντες ἰῷ κίον ἤματι Ἄϊδος εἴσω *.

or when vanquished, and betaking themselves unto the bitter passages of flight, as in the Sierra Vermeja, on the fatal mountain where Alonzo de Aguilar met his death, and the unresisting Spaniards hurried, like terrified deer, through the darkness, or when suddenly awakened by some prodigious crime, the harbinger of wars and social ruin—that such men find, for the first time, one of these breaks to the house of peace, which virtue will pass through, striking on its breast with true prayer to the Lamb of God that taketh sins away. "On the second of March," says an old writer, describing an occasion of the latter kind, "in the year 1127, the peace of our land was destroyed, its rest disturbed, honesty outraged, and all the felicity of mortals extinguished; wars, labours, turpitude, and all kinds of detestable misery began on the cruel murder of Charles, Count of Flanders, son of King Canute the martyr, in the church of St. Donatus at Bruges †." It was the sorrow of that day, we are expressly told, that effected the conversion of Suger. Sometimes there seems a direct and personal intervention from on high to aid the lesson of the battle-field. While the king, Don James of Arragon, laid siege to Valencia, then possessed by the Moors, St. Peter Nolasco was in the army which was commanded by Dom Guillaume d'Aiguillon. The castle of Puch, on a neighbouring hill, was closely invested, in order to facilitate the taking of the city. Then it is said that during many consecutive nights the army saw seven lines of stars in a direction from heaven to the foot of the castle. On the castle being taken, the general, by advice of St. Peter Nolasco, ordered the spot to be examined, and, after digging to a depth of six or seven feet, they found a bell and a stone with an image of the blessed Virgin sculptured ‡. Painters have immortalized this legend; but visions in battle are not among the signals to be noted here, though still might be heard some repeating Richard's words,—

——————— "If angels fight,
Weak men must fall; for Heaven guides the right."

However, the uncertainty of all appeals to arms, never perhaps more visible than now, when defeat is visited on him who fights like Cadmus against the dragon, armed, if not with the very

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* Il. vi. 421.

† Fr. Gualter. Tarvanens. Vit. S. Caroli Martyris, 9.

‡ Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 51.

sword Tizona of the Cid, at least, like the heroes of the Sonderbund, with a holy cause, and a mind more powerful than any weapon[*], can direct men to the only source of secure justice, and to the kingdom where alone it is triumphant,—

> "Fortuna, sævo læta negotio, et
> Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
> Transmutat incertos honores."

"Hope," says the grave poet, "is a fatal gift, which often excites cities to war—*ἄγουσα θυμὸν εἰς ὑπερβολάς·* for," he continues, "when states deliberate on war, no one anticipates his own death, but supposes that it is others who will die; but, if in voting each man thought of death for himself, the rage for war would never have brought Greece to ruin. And yet all men know the difference between good and evil, and how much better is peace than war; the former, a friend of the Muses, an enemy of the Furies, loving to people and to enrich states: yet all these we sacrifice[†]." War, therefore, by the horror which its crimes and its calamities entail, points to the divine excellence of that love of peace, which is one of the distinctive features of the Church of Jesus Christ on earth; and we cannot proceed far without observing proof how fully the Catholic religion corresponds with this divine mark. "There are only two grand things that I know of in this world," said lately one of the celebrated Gauls, wavering undetermined in his course, but gifted with genius to accomplish holiest things, whom the late revolutions have ejected to a European celebrity. What are these? "War," he replies, "and Catholicism." It may be so; for, in fact, these two ideas represent the two great antagonistic powers to which the world is delivered—force, to which Satan ever has recourse; and justice, which Catholicity invokes in close embrace with peace. The Catholic Church owes nothing to the sword or to the cannon. She invokes them not: for to stay by a lawful power brigands, and the enemies of human society, vaunting a divine impulse which orders them to invade Rome, is not to demand war, but an act conformable to the pacific prayer,—ut ecclesia et æternis proficiat institutis, et temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis[‡]; whereas heresy may be said to owe every thing to violence and power; since it has been established no where unless by material force, and its sympathies were ever with commotion and war. The popular discernment of this truth appears in the French proverb of the sixteenth century—"Le sermon de Calvin a fait rouller le canon[§]." And its war-

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[*] Met. iii. 2.
[†] Eur. Suppl. 480.
[‡] Fer. vi. inf. Heb. iv. quadrag.
[§] Le Roux de Lincy, le Livre des Prov. F. i.

like tendencies can be observed still; for the Scotch Calvinists, while I am writing this page, are crying out, "We must employ betimes more missionaries and bibles, or we shall soon have to employ soldiers and cannon*." In Scotland, England, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, and France, the charming sermon was not deemed complete without the sword of insurrection, or the sword of the king's law, or the cannon of the new troops—new, for De Thou admits that the Calvinists forgot all the old laws of war in their devastation of France.

For some time the wars and convulsions of heresy were only partial. "Its rage," says Freudenfeld, "required a general conflagration; and it obtained it in the Thirty Years' War." Then, as Frederick Schlegel says, "the whole of Germany, the age itself, seemed involved in warfare; and war appeared as the permanent policy, the ruling spirit, the inveterate habit, and natural necessity of mankind." The treaty of Westphalia did not prevent the art of war—under the influence of the revived paganism, which heresy would not disavow—from becoming then the idol of cabinets and of the world. The sermon continues as before, to foster the mind, and the whole sphere of ideas which lead men to magnify the standard of the old Gentile nations, pre-eminence in war. Those, at all events, who fear not its influence in opposition to their views, contract the tone of Pentheus, when he cries—

——— "O juvenes—quos arma tenere
Non thyrsos; galeâque tegi, non fronde, decebat †;"

and practically disdain the nation as the man—"quem neque bella juvant nec tela." The race, by a peculiar will hostile to Catholicity, is at all times distinguishable by its secret or avowed esteem of war. It existed in the old world—

"Contemptrix Superum, sævæque avidissima cædis
Et violenta fuit: scires è sanguine natam ‡."

It exists now, enlisted under the banners that proclaim fraternity; its cry being ever and anon like that of Pentheus —

——— "Utinam tormenta, virique
Mœnia diruerent; ferrumque ignisque sonarent §."

It existed in the early ages of Christianity, when St. Peter Damian said, "These seculars, after robbing the Churches, prey upon each other; they attack each other, each wishing to be sole master of the world. Then, after long combats, they burn

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* The Edinburgh Witness, Jan. 9, 1850.
† Met. lib. iii. 9.
‡ Id. i. 6.
§ Id. iii. 9.

down the cottages of the labourer, venting on the poor the bile which they could not vomit on their enemies." They existed in the middle ages; for they were not absent, we may be sure, from the ranks of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, when, as we read in Warkworth's Chronicle, "near Barnet on holy Saturday eche of them loosede gonnes at other all the nyght. And when on Ester day in the mornynge eche of them came uppone othere, and ther foughte from iiii of clokke in the mornynge unto x of clokke the fore-none." Catholicity is not in concord with such minds or habits. Battles, skirmishes, invasions, esteeming ever glorious, magnify if you will, the Church which alone magnifies "the pacific king over all the kings of the whole earth," seems to reply; me of these nor skilled nor studious.

"Culta mihi pax est, pacis mihi cura tuendæ."

The taunt of the immortal Cid, addressed to the monk Bermuda, "Your habit is more spotted with oil than with blood," changes not her appreciation of her own instruction. Her priests, at mass, kiss thrice the altar, to express, as Pope Innocent III. observes, her inward prayer, ut de pace temporis, per pacem pectoris, transeamus ad pacem æternitatis*. On those very bells which her enemies melt down into cannon, they find inscribed her prayer for peace. On one of the vast bells of Noyon were these words:—"Rogemus ergo, populi, Dei matrem et virginem ut ipsa nobis impetret pacem et indulgentiam†."

"Her favourites, too, are
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed;—the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung."

Her ways are in a far other sense beautiful, and all her paths are peace; she seems to address those who would call upon her to take part in the wars of nations, in words like those of Apollo to the angry Neptune:

———οὐκ ἄν με σαόφρονα μυθήσαιο
ἔμμεναι εἰ δὴ σοίγε βροτῶν ἕνεκα πτολεμίζω,
δειλῶν, οἳ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἄλλοτε μέν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν, ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι‡.

But it is not alone that Catholicity prefers peace. In general, and as a normal condition of society, it denounces war, and holds it up to the horror and execration of mankind.

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* Sac. Alt. Myst. iii. c. xi.

† Moët de la Forte-maison, Antiquités de Noyon.

‡ xxi. 463.

"It is clear," says an old Spanish writer, "that war has sprung from the sin of our first parents, and it is truly strange, therefore, that the profession of arms should be in such esteem, Cicero ascribing its invention to Pallas, who was thence called Bellona*." And yet that the Gentile poet would acquiesce in such views, may be inferred from the familiar lines—

> "Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
> Rára juventus."

The first wars, as old writers say, sprung rather from ambition and the love of glory than through the desire of possessing the goods of another, Ninus, king of the Assyrians, being supposed to be the first to make war from that motive. But even after the latter motive, apparently so human, had been added, the whole ancient civilization of Christendom acquiesced in the opinion, which is so eloquently expressed by Frederick Schlegel in modern times, that it was the demon who was the troubler of the poor world's peace. Alluding to the wars of the Roman emperors, he says that "it was as if the iron-footed god of war, Gradivus, so highly revered from of old by the people of Romulus, actually bestrode the globe, and at every step struck out new torrents of blood; or as if the dark Pluto had emerged from the abyss of eternal night, escorted by all the vengeful spirits of the lower world, by all the furies of passion and insatiable cupidity, by the bloodthirsty demons of murder, to establish his visible empire, and erect his throne for ever on the earth." Let us hear the Abbot Rupert, in his great work on the Victory of the Word of God. "Ecce Behemoth," says the Almighty to Job, "fœnum quasi bos comedet. How doth the devil eat grass as an ox? He incorporates carnal men with himself; he devoureth their flesh, of which we read,—omnis caro fœnum et omnis gloria ejus quasi flos agri. Vere fœnum est populus. We shall see how he consumeth them with wars†." Profound was the impression on the Catholic mind of the middle ages, when men traversed such a field as that of Tolbiac, now called Zulpich, in the dutchy of Cleves, four leagues from Cologne. The numbers slaughtered there, when Theodoric conquered Theodobert, were so great that, according to the strong expression of St. Gregory of Tours, "the corpses of the slain could not fall, but stood erect, pressed against the dead in the opposing ranks‡." But let us continue to hear Rupertus:—"The devil, desiring to exterminate the people, with whose flesh he wished to be filled, raised up wars and slaughter§. So it was suggested to

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* Les diverses Leçons de Pierre Messie de Seville.

† De Vict. Verbi Dei, lib. vi. 27.

‡ Hist. lib. xi.

§ Id. vii. 15.

kings, first to Darius, that he should kill Daniel; then to Assuerus, that he should destroy the whole nation of the Jews; for which purpose an imperial decree was sought and obtained by the magistrates, senators, and judges of the kingdom[*]. It is wonderful to utter what the ancient historians testify when they show how cruelly those evil princes of the Greeks played with human blood; malignant rulers, true suffragans of the devil, implacable against each other, since there can not be peace for the impious[†]. There are histories. Let those who will read them, to observe how Alexander did not degenerate from the serpent, or rather from the demon, from whom he boasted he was sprung[‡]." See the infelicity of the nations and kings reigning over the people of God. How did they reign? They reigned by blood; they had dominion by death; falsely living and truly dying; thirsting for glory and drinking calamity—false viventes et vere morientes, gloriam sitientes et calamitatem bibentes. To slay an hundred thousand or more in war was but an amusement to the devil. It is not our object to relate the horrible and diabolic tragedies of the Gentile wars. There are histories of them without end. Let him who has inclination and leisure read them[§].

Satan is called also Leviathan, which is interpreted addition, as adding always to the calamities of men by inspiring the impious to rage—Væ illis, quia diabolus quam habet iram magnam communicat eis, ut habebant ipsi quod addiderunt, sive addere voluerunt electis Dei[‖]. The spume of discord which the beast diffuseth has vexed the world, afflicted the nations, dyed all kingdoms with blood—by great and indescribable wars, civil, and more than civil wars. There are histories. Let those who will read the tragedies of the human race, the labours of the world. "Mundi in maligno positi," as St. John saith[¶]. The old Catholic historians do not differ from these great mystic authors in their view as to the origin of wars. "Thus, by the malice of the devil," says Mathieu Paris, "the two kings of France and England, after having taken the cross against the infidel, became again enemies and attacked each other[**]." Shakespear himself takes no other view, exclaiming,—

> "O War, thou son of Hell,
> Whom angry heavens do make their minister."

The very Gentiles seem to have had some conception of the

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[*] Id. vii. 16.
[†] Id. ix. 10.
[‡] Id. ix. 16.
[§] Id. viii. 27.
[‖] Id. ix. 26.
[¶] Id. xi. 7.
[**] Ad ann. 1188.

same agency; "O Apollo," cries the Greek poet, "what a villanous thing is the mere aspect of war!—

ὅσον κακὸν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ βλέμματος.

What an enormous mortar is here to bruise the nations in! This is the terrible and cruel monster that we fly from [*]." And what instruments does war find in men! Dante's terror in the shades of hell increased, as he ascribed to those he saw around him the ways of men whom he remembered upon earth,—

"And as one thought burst from another forth,
So afterwards from that another sprang,
Which added doubly to my former fear.
For thus I reason'd: These through us have been
So foil'd, with loss and mock'ry so complete,
As needs must sting them sore. If anger then
Be to their evil will conjoin'd, more fell
They shall pursue us than the savage hound
Snatches the leveret panting 'twixt his jaws.
Already I perceived my hair stand all
On end with terror, and look'd eager back;
'Teacher,' I thus began, 'if speedily
Thyself and me thou hide not, much I dread
These evil talons. Even now behind
They urge us; quick imagination works
So forcibly that I already feel them [†].'"

The pagans could recognize in men of arms an eternal principle of hatred; and their poet, describing the warlike dead in Hades, expressly teaches that they suffered there a constrained peace,—

"Concordes animæ nunc et dum nocte premuntur,
Heu! quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitæ
Attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt [‡]."

It is no wonder that Dante should have therefore seen the will and penalty eternal as the crime—

"Ulysses there and Diomede endure
Their penal tortures, thus to vengeance now
Together hasting, as ere while to wrath [§]."

Nor is the demon left even in Christian ages without befitting tools; "For often," as the dread voice declared to St. Bridget, "it pleases soldiers rather to die in war for pride, and cupidity, and envy, through diabolic suggestions, than to live according to the divine commands to obtain everlasting joy. Therefore," it

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[*] Aristoph. Pax. [†] 23. [‡] vi. 826. [§] 26.

added, "all soldiers who die with this will shall be for ever associated with the devil in the penalty of his fall *." The middle ages, too, beheld armies which might well be thought to have sprung from dragon's teeth †. Their destination was no secret then. The night after the army of the Duke of Louvain was routed and slain by the army of Liège, a servant of the Count of Losens, says Cæsar of Heisterbach, near Montenacke, passing by the field of battle at the beginning of the night, saw a great tournament of demons; and I do not think there would have been such rejoicing among the unclean spirits if they had not had a good booty there ‡. In the vision of Thurcill, a knight, who had passed his life in slaughter, and tournaments, and rapine, was seen armed, mounted on a black horse, which vomited flames and a fetid odour; the saddle was covered with long spikes red-hot; the cuirass, helmet, shield, and greaves were of red-hot iron: still the knight ran against the demons with his lance; but they derided him. At length he fell, and was torn by them; then dragged back to a seat of fire, from which he had to issue forth again to resume the interminable game. But now, leaving this specular mount, let us observe how the Catholic Church, in the practical exercise of a divine ministry, denounces and opposes the wars of rival powers, and ever seeks, as Homer says, to cool the heats of foolish kings and people.

The Roman philosopher, no doubt, thought that he had evinced the utmost humanity when prescribing moderation in the desire of national glory by means of war, saying, "Sed ea bella, quibus imperii gloria proposita est, minus acerbè gerenda sunt §."

Great is the change which makes even poets, who are unconscious of the influence to which their thoughts are due, declare that the drying up a single tear has more of honest fame than shedding seas of gore; and that, as another says,—

"They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault. What do these worthies
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
——— leaving behind
Nothing but ruin whereso'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy."

Stern, not courtly, is the voice of mediæval pontiffs in denouncing war,—

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* Revelat. S. Birgit. lib. viii. c. 32.

† Met. iii. 3.

‡ xii. 16.

§ De Off. i. 12.

"Salve, summe pater, fer et omnibus integram salutem,
Quicumque pacis diligunt quietem.
Et qui bella volunt, hos contere dextra potenti,
Trudens gehennæ filios maligni *."

Stern, not indulgent, were the canons in the same sense. "If a man kill any one in a public war," say those of Fulbert, "let him do penance for a year." If you have slain any one in a public war, say those collected by Regino in the ninth century, you must do penance for forty days †. This great antagonism to the notions of the Gentile world, and to the ideas of the infidels in later ages, has its origin and perpetual sustenance in the spiritual direction imparted to human thoughts by the Catholic religion, which reminds men who are preparing hostilities to take mercy on the poor souls for whom this hungry war opens his vasty jaws, and declares that, unless it is necessary, on their head will Heaven turn the widow's tears, the orphan's cries, the dead men's blood, the pining maiden's groans, for husbands, fathers, and betrothed lovers, that shall be swallowed in this controversy. In Catholic councils there is seldom wanting that warning voice of pacific age, of which the poet gives an instance, though polluted through his pagan blindness, in the lines,—

—— "Fuit et grandævus in illis
Emathion, æqui cultor, timidusque Deorum,
Quem, quoniam prohibent anni bellare, loquendo
Pugnat; et incessit, scelerataque devovet arma ‡."

Catholicity would cause you, O conquerors, to be disappointed even in your immediate aim; for it would efface, not perpetuate, the memory of these days that were miserable with your glory. How many annual festivities, how many rejoicings to be proclaimed, from commemorative pillars and arches named after battles between nations professing Christianity? But the Church, however worried into compliance with what is not absolutely base and bloody, has such associations in deep unutterable disgust,—

"What! shall our feast be kept with slaughter'd men?
Shall braying trumpets, and loud churlish drums,
Clamours of hell, be measures of our pomp?"

"O sepulchre of James," exclaims Antonio de Escobar, "where the prince of our armies resteth, I fear lest the noise of arms, not indeed through the fault of the emperor, but through the crimes of the subjects, may disturb from gentle sleep him who

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* Hymnus Fulberti.
† Reg. Abb. Prum. de Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 141.
‡ Met. v. 3.

takes his rest in peace. 'In pace, in id ipsum,' says David, 'dormiam et requiescam;' on which words Bonaventura saith, 'Sicut homo bene pausat in molli culcitrâ, sic Deus quiescit in mente tranquillâ.' I beseech the glory and protector of Spain to excite to battle, not now against the forces of the Moors which have been dispersed, but in order to pacify the hearts of princes. In peace thou wilt sleep and take thy rest for ever; and then shall his sepulchre be glorious, or, as it is elsewhere, 'et erit requies gloria.' I remember St. Cyril of Jerusalem saith, 'And his sepulchre shall be in peace; for pacifying the earth he leads sinners to God. No adversity will injure Spain, if no wickedness reigns within it, on account of which faithful princes are disturbed by the persecutions of wars*.'" If it be however the emperor or prince who excites war, and leads with merciless ambition hosts of dupes to battle-field, the Church is no less inexorable. "Oh, if they knew," says Antonio de Guevara, the preacher of Charles V., "what an injury they do their own house, the day when they engage in war, I think and affirm certainly that princes would not only not engage in it, but that no subject would dare to advise them to it, lest he should be esteemed by them a mortal enemy. Let the counsellors of kings and princes remember this sentence, which is, that they should give such advice in council as they would give their prince if they saw him on his death-bed, when no one would burden his own conscience by flattery. Men should so love peace, and so hate war, that before advising the latter they should deal with their own conscience in the same way as a priest treats with his own before saying mass. No war can be so justified that a prince can engage in it without some scruple of conscience. If he wages it to augment his state and grandeur, it is a vain hope; if to revenge an injury, it is a superfluous malice; if to gain honour, it is needless vanity. Wars injure not alone the community in general, but the good in a particular manner. If war were only with the evil, and between the evil, something might be said; but, alas! by means of war the good are persecuted, robbed, and slain. What glory in injuring the good! In the world there are so few good, and there is such necessity for them in the republic, that, if it were possible, with tears one ought to resuscitate them from their sepulchres, and not lead them to war as to a butchery to die. It is a greater obligation to preserve the peace, which Christ has so recommended, than not to wage a war to revenge an injury. If princes would believe me, for no temporal cause would they consent to suffer the shedding of human blood; for no cause, but only for Him who offered for us his own blood upon the cross. Let them, for

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* Tom. iv. 187, in Evang.

the love of Him who is the Prince of peace, love peace, procure peace, preserve peace, and live in peace, that they may be rich and happy with their people*." The monks of Mount Cassino address a solemn letter to Alphonso, king of Arragon, complaining of his wars, "Neque tamen nos sumus inimici nostro regi;" they conclude, "pro cujus justis triumphis incessanter oramus—but we implore you to grant us peace—nosti enim scriptum esse, quia non nisi pacis in tempore bene colitur pacis auctor †." Such were the lessons that Catholicity addressed to kings who remained faithful to the Church at the time when the gentilhommerie huguenoté was preaching fire and sword to propagate the new Gospel.

But, still pausing on this theme, let us mark how the Catholic voice denounced in earlier times the wars of kings who continued to be in name subject to the Church. "If warlike princes," as the same illustrious friar observes, "attained glory, it was by devastating many regions, plundering many temples, tyrannizing over many nations, dissembling with many despots, persecuting many innocents, and taking from many of the good not alone their possessions but their lives; for the world is such, that, for one man's name to become famous, one must render obscure the names of many ‡." But in the middle ages, and from the beginning, such men were not left without salutary direction. Hear St. Gregory of Tours, confronted with the Merovingians, "What seek you, O kings, thus to contend? In what do you not abound? Delights are multiplied in your houses; in your cellars wine, and corn, and oil are redundant. In your treasuries gold and silver are heaped up in piles. One thing alone is wanting to you,—peace, and the grace of God in consequence. If thou, O king, art delighted with a civil war, wage that war which the apostle speaks of—that the spirit should desire against the flesh; that vices should yield to virtues; and that thou, being free, may serve thy Head, which is Christ—thou, I say, who lately didst serve like a bound slave the root of all evils §."

Catholicity threw even material impediments in the way of such kings. Henry III., says Mathieu Paris, demanding aid from the Cistercians for his unjust and shameful foreign wars in Gascony, the monks answered, that it was not permitted to them to aid any one in wars, where there is effusion of blood,—above all, where that is Christian blood, for fear lest, in aiding, they might depart from their rule, which inspires a horror of blood. The king, to punish them, forbade them to export their wool ||. St. Bridget, in her Revelations, speaks of the wars of

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[*] L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 1049—1066.

[†] D. Gattula, Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 533.

[‡] Lib. iii. 1274. [§] Hist. lib. v. [||] Ad ann. 1243.

the kings of France and England, Philip de Valois and Edward III., who are compared, in that mystic language in which she conversed, to brute animals. "The voice of these beasts," says the blessed mother of God, addressing her, "is this—Collect gold and earthly riches, that you may not spare the blood of Christians. Each of these beasts desires the death of the other; they seek to hurt and to tear each other. There are other beasts, too, which come open-mouthed. These are they who flock to them through cupidity. These open mouths are then filled by those who are called kings, but are in reality traitors; for they cast money and gifts abundantly into their mouths, in order to excite them to war, that they may die, whose goods remain, while their bodies are received into the earth, worms eating their hearts, and devils their souls; and thus do these two kings betray many souls of my Son which He had redeemed with his blood *." Another mystic voice, denouncing such wars, was that of Marina de Escobar, who says, "My grief was great on hearing of the wars which Christian princes meditated, and on considering the common necessities of the kingdom, and especially those of the poor †." But Catholicity effects more than that clear detection and denouncement of the evil which can direct men on this road to the Church; for it actually alleviates the sum of human misery by the influence of its spirit throughout the world, in converting men to the love of peace. The Holy See during many ages, as a general arbitrator, produced immense results by means of its pacific remonstrances and arrangements. Henry IV. replied to the ambassador from Spain in the Louvre, "that he had desired peace, not that he was weary of the inconveniences of war, but to give means to Christendom to breathe—Que les armes lui estoient tombees des mains quand on lui avoit representé les larmes qui tomboient des yeux du Pape, pour la reconciliation de ceux, la concorde desquels servoit grandement au repos de l'Eglise de Dieu ‡." Catholicity produces peace-makers in every rank of society, from the throne to the cottage. The least rumours of war filling St. Radegonde with trouble, she used to write to one, send to others to appease their anger, while she fasted and prayed, and caused supplications to be offered up by her whole community to deliver the people from such a calamity. Queen Isabella showed that she had precisely the same thoughts whenever it was a question of war between Christians; and we may remark here, that the scholars, pioneers of Protestantism, revivers of learning, as some style them, were zealous, at all events,

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* Revelat. S. Birgittæ, lib. iv. c. 104.

† Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. ii. lib. ii. c. 12.

‡ Pierre Mat. Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. i.

for reviving the wars of Paganism, as might be witnessed in that Peter Martyr, who shared none of Queen Isabella's scruples in regard to bringing a Christian enemy to battle ; for when Ferdinand, according to her request not to cut off the retreat of the French who had invaded Spain, and, as some say, at the earnest entreaty of Bishop Deza, his confessor, desisted from the pursuit of the defeated army, this learned writer, who uses words more familiar to Greek and Roman than to Christian ears, indulges in a most querulous strain of sarcasm against the Catholic king for his remissness in this particular *. Catholicism however, on such occasions, was content to be behind the age. Then would rise to heaven from all sides such desires as an old poem, lately published, thus beautifully expressed :—

> "O pie servorum Jhesu, miserere tuorum,
> Ut pax ecclesiæ prece detur firma Mariæ ;
> Christe regens terram, nostram cito destrue guerram ;
> Tu cito da pacem, tu destrue quemque rapacem,
> Comprime versutos, nos fac hoc tempore tutos,
> Et malefactores humiles fac et meliores."

Then each monastery would send forth its blessed peace-maker to visit the court, the camp, and the battle-field. The Count of Cardonne and the Vicomte de Beam had raised armies to defend their respective causes by war, which would have engaged the whole kingdom in hostilities ; but St. Peter Nolasco threw himself at their feet, and spoke with such force, that they made peace with each other and disbanded their troops †. The king of Castille making war on the king of Arragon, Father Denis Emmanuel, of Portugal, who perceived what an obstacle this caused to the redemption of slaves, came to the court of the former, and with a crucifix in his hand conjured him, by the mercy and the passion of Christ, to put a stop to his war with a Christian prince ‡. Henry II. of England and the French king being about to make war with each other, "mediantibus viris pacificis," as William of Newbury says, "pacis iterum inter se jura firmarunt §." St. Catherine of Sienna appearing at the court of Avignon, and before the Florentines, as a diplomatic envoy, is another sublime figure on this road, pointing to Catholicity as a source of peace for the wearied world. What justice and simplicity too in the measure it requires, through her, for the restoration of peace on that occasion! "You must act," she writes to the latter, "in a straightforward manner, and avoid all sinister by-paths of crooked policy. I do not think, in fine, that this affair can be treated by any but by the servants of God.

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* Prescott.

† Hist. de l'Ordre de la Mercy, 81.

‡ Id. 313.

§ Rer. Ang. ii. c. 24.

If you comply with their directions, you will obtain both temporal and spiritual peace—peace for your country, and peace for your minds." Political dangers, political persecution awaited her in Florence while labouring to promote peace between that people and Rome. Her escape from the furious hands of a rabble was deemed miraculous. She withdrew for a short time to a neighbouring hermitage, whence she returned to Florence, on the accession of Urban VI.; and by her mediation at last peace was concluded, when she returned to Sienna. But Catholicity, where it has power, besides producing arbiters and peacemakers, diminishes the number of belligerents, and makes kings and people themselves pacific. In the Roman Pontifical, at the coronation, the Church invokes God, who had enriched Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and of peace, that the king may be ever protected, and may bring peace to those who are joyfully militating for God.

Here we must invoke the evidence of history. How many pacific kings has Catholicity produced! What a new type of glorious sovereignty did it give to the world in its pacific monarchs, who were content upon their banners with the white of innocence, or with the red, that only signified the bleeding cross that saved the world, in accordance with the views of those wise Catholic historians who say, with Pierre Mathieu, that "the felicity of a state is to be measured by its years of peace *. "Quievit terra quadraginta annis, et mortuus est Othoniel †." Could there be a greater encomium? asks Antonio de Escobar. "Oh, how the king of France," he says, is "to be commended for his love of peace! Quid gloriosius," he continues, "quam efficere ut bellicosi quique Galli fortissimo bellico ardore succensi non solum non procedant ad campum, sed ut pacis existant amatores induti plane regii pactai spiritûs ornamento ‡." Theodoric said, by the mouth of Cassiodorus, "Ad laudem regnantis trahitur, si ab omnibus pax ametur." "I wish," said the Emperor Leo to Eulogius, "that such were the state of these times as to enable me to transfer the pay of soldiers to learned men." "The end and object of my counsels," replied Alphonso the Magnanimous to the Italian envoys, "has always been to live in peace, and to secure peace for my people. In war I seek peace, not in peace war. Never have I despised or rejected the overtures of an enemy for peace, but I have always gone to meet them with offers of friendship §." The Emperor St. Henry, constrained by human events, having laid siege to the city of Troy, in Apulia, after some months, when the citizens began to despair, they sent an embassy, singularly composed, as men would now think,

* Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vi. † Jud. 3. ‡ Tom. vi. 248.
§ Marinei Siculi, de Reb. Hispan. lib. xi.

to ask peace; for it was led by a monk carrying a cross, and the deputies were all the youths of the city; whatever they found of boyhood, and almost of infancy, they added to the procession. When the emperor heard their voices, imploring mercy, and saw the children, he began to weep, and immediately granted the prayer *. The influence of Catholicity can be traced even in these monarchs, who only received it from the atmosphere that it had produced around them. The king, Henry II. of France, resolved, as Paradin says, if possible to live at peace, knowing that the wars of his predecessors had caused affliction and horror. His moderation and desire of peace were represented to the emperor as the result of fear and weakness; but it is only just to acknowledge the true cause; for he "considered that war is a brutal and inhuman thing, dragging after it a long train of ruin and desolation for the people, dishonour and bad reputation for princes with contemporaries and posterity: in fine, that it is joined with the expectation of eternal punishment from God. Therefore, preferant tousjours injuste appointement à juste guerre, he endured an outrage from the emperor without resenting it, hoping that in future there would be no cause †." La Chronique Scandaleuse, which is not always favourable to Louis XI., remarks, in the year 1475, that he sought to avoid, even in war, the shedding of blood, which is confirmed by his enemy, Molinet. "Il aymeroit mieux perdre dix mille escus que le moindre archier de sa compagnie ‡." The most warlike kings, within the influence of Catholicity, are seen more or less in this respect affected by it. St. Bridget, in the very passage where Edward III. and Philippe de Valois are represented in the character of savage animals, hears in conclusion words which seem to indicate their compunction. "There are other animals, all shorn," said the blessed Virgin, "which represent those simple men who are contented with their own possessions, and who proceed to war with this intention, believing that the war is just, and therefore are they stript of their fleeces, dying in battle, while their souls are received into heaven." And the mother of God added, "I hear three voices. The first proceeding from those kings, of whom one thinks thus: 'If I had my own, I would not care for what belongs to others; but I fear to lose all. Therefore, O Maria, roga pro me.' The other king thinks thus: 'I wish that I were in the state of the other. I am weary.' Therefore he also turns to me. The second voice is of the community, which daily asks me for peace. The third voice is that of the

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* Raderus, Bavaria Sancta, 106.

† Paradin, Contin. de l'Hist. de Nostre Temps, 1550.

‡ Ap. Mich. Hist. de France, vi. 489.

elect, who cry out, saying, 'We do not bewail the bodies of the dead, nor losses, nor poverty, but the ruin of souls which are in danger; therefore, O Lady, beseech thy Son to have mercy and to spare *.' "

This great cry of the population, invoking the intercession of the mother of the Prince of Peace, cujus vultum desiderat universa terra, is as expressive of the effect as of the desire of the pacific influence of the Catholic Church. In a legend of the year 1315, a poor peasant, being asked by some soldiers of what party he was, whether of Blois or of Montfort, replied, " I am neither Blois nor Montfort, but the servant of our Lady St. Mary †." Such was the sentiment of the people whom the demon then troubled, not as now, through their own warlike passions, but through those of the great. Charles of Orleans thus beautifully expresses it:—

" Paix est trésor qu'on ne peut trop louer.
Priez pour paix, doulce Vierge Marie,
Reyne des cieulx et du monde maistresse;
Faictes prier, par vostre courtoisie,
Saints et saintes, et prenez vostre adresse
Vers vostre filz, requérant sa haultesse
Qu'il lui plaise son peuple regarder
Que de son sang a voulu racheter
En desboutant guerre, qui tout desvoye.
De prierez ne vous vueilliez lasser;
Priez pour paix, le vray trésor de joye.
Priez, prelats et gens de sainte vie,
Religieux, ne dormez en peresse!
Priez, maistres et tous saivans clergie,
Car par guerre fault que l'estude cesse.
Moustiers destruis sont, sans qu'on les redresse,
Le service de Dieu vous fault laissier
Quant ne povez en repos demourer.
Priez si fort que briefment Dieu vous oye;
L'Eglise voult à le vous ordonner;
Priez pour paix, le vray trésor de joye.
Priez, princes qui avez seigneurie,
Rois, ducs, contes, barons pleins de noblesse,
Gentilz hommes aver chevalerie—
Priez, peuple qui souffrez tirannie:
Car vos seigneurs sont en telle foiblesse
Qu'ils ne pevent vous garder par mestrie,
Dieu tout puissant nous vueille conforter
Toutes choses en terre, ciel, et mer!
Priez vers lui que brief en tout pourvoye,
En lui seul est de tous maulz amender;
Priez pour paix, le vray trésor de joye."

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* Revelat. S. Birgit. lib. iv. c. 104.

† Nôtre dame du Folgoat.

Historians, in fact, attest that long during the troubles of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, the only desire of the people was peace. Vivat, vivat qui dominari poterit dum pax.—During the horrors of the year 1418, it was the same cry—Fiat pax*! In the wars of France and England, the people of both countries wished that France and England might ever be, not one nation, as the fifth Henry wished, but at peace, "that English might in French, French Englishmen receive each other." Isabella's words to the English king were but an expression of the general wish; Shakspear draws from the universal sentiments produced by Catholicity when he transferred them to his drama:—

"Your eyes which hitherto have borne in them
Against the French, that met them in their bent
The fatal balls of murdering basilisks,
The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,
Have lost their quality, and that this day
Shall change all griefs and quarrels into love."

Burgundy, too, is but a true representative of France, in his remonstrance, saying,—

"And as our vineyards, fallows, meads, and hedges,
Defective in their natures, grow to wildness,
Even so our houses, and ourselves, and children
Have lost, or do not learn for want of time,
The sciences that should become our country;
But grow like savages—as soldiers will,
That nothing do but meditate on blood,
To swearing and stern looks, diffused attire
And every thing that seems unnatural."

One night, Juvenal des Ursins, whose dominant desire was the love of peace, repeated aloud in his dream, "Surgite cum sederetis, qui manducatis panem doloris." "Methinks you repeated words that I often read in my book of hours," said his wife to him, when he awoke. "Ma mie," he replied, "we have eleven children, and consequently great cause for praying God to grant us peace. Let us hope in Him: He will help us†." Charles d'Orléans represents himself, while prisoner,—

"Priant à Dieu qu' avant qu' aye vieillesse
Le temps de paix partout puit advenir."

And then he adds—

"Tout Crestien qui est loyal et bon
Du bien de paix se doit fort resioïr,

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* Mich. Hist. de France, iv. 334.

† Id. iv. 255.

Veu les grans maulz et la destruction
Qui guerre fait par tous pays courir.
Dieu a voulu crestienté punir,
Qui a laissié de bien vivre la voye."

And again, to the Duke of Burgundy he says,—

"Chascun doit estre bien enclin
Vers la paix : car certainement
Elle départira butin
De grans biens à tous largement.
Guerre ne sert que de tourment ;
Je la hé, pour dire le voir ;
Bannie seroit plainnement
S'il en estoit à mon vouloir ;
La paix, c'est assavoir des riches
Des poures le substantement."

It is remarkable that Catholicity should be able to combine, even with the profession of arms, a pacific character. In the Roman Pontifical, at the benediction of a new knight, the pontiff says to him, "Esto miles pacificus, strenuus, fidelis, et Deo devotus*." "In time of war," says Cibrario, in his work on the political state of the middle ages, "the horsemen sent to explore were to be chosen from 'men of pacific blood,' as the old rule prescribes." The heroic Francis, second duke of Guise, is styled by the old writers "amateur de paix†." The knights of the Toison d'Or, in their curious remonstrance made to Charles le Téméraire, which he listened to with patience, concluded thus,—"que le plus tard qu'il pourra il veuille mettre son peuple en guerre, et qu'il ne le veuille faire sans bon et meur conseil‡." However the wisdom of the latter may be recognized, that of the former counsels will now appear exaggerated, and even supremely ridiculous; for, in fact, new opinions have created new circumstances. Accordingly, we have only to look on either side to be convinced of the immense change in the military aspect of Europe, which has been effected since the principles of the reform prevailed, and the simultaneous decline took place of that faith which was the soul of the ancient Christian civilization. The wars and armies of the middle ages, however lamented and lamentable, are themselves proof of society having adopted the standard of the Prince of Peace, inasmuch as we see evidence, in the very circumstances attending them, that society was then able to exist along with them; for those wars, as the old historian says, "did not prevent the ox from going to the plough,

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* De Bened. Novi Milit.

† Ap. René de Bouillé, Hist. des Ducs de Guise.

‡ Reiffenberg, Hist. de la Toison d'Or.

the peasant to the field, the merchant to his commerce, the judge to the bench, the priest to the altar—mais ces guerres de religion sur la fin du siècle passé ont esté quelques fois plus digne du nom de vollerie que de rencontres d'armes*." Vast standing armies were then unknown, as there was no motive existing which could make them, as at present, absolutely necessary. In times of peace, even the garrisons in forts and castles amounted to an almost imperceptible force. In 1263, Montmelian, the chief fortress of Savoy, was left in charge of ten men. The castle of Bard, which formed the key of the valley of Aosta, was guarded by twelve men†. In Warkworth's Chronicle, we read that "xx menne may kepe St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal ageyne alle the world." In France, the creation of a national infantry dates only from the fifteenth century. This military institution arose from a financial measure. In 1448, the king ordered that there should be royal instead of seigneural levyers of taxes; and that these should choose a man in each parish, in preference one who had been in war, who should be exempt from paying taxes on condition of his arming himself at his own expense, and practising with the bow on certain days. This franc-archer was to receive pay only in time of war‡. The soldier, as such, was not received in society in France; the very name forming a disqualification§. Indeed, the writers opposed to Catholicity acknowledge the synchronism of which I speak. "The Italian wars," says Prescott, "were of signal importance to the Spanish nation. Until that time they had been cooped up within the narrow limits of the Peninsula, taking little interest in the concerns of the rest of Europe. A new world was now opened to them; they were taught to measure their own strength by collision with other powers, and success seemed to beckon them on to achieve still more splendid triumphs‖. It is incontestable that, contemporaneously with a decline of the influence of faith, wars in Europe assumed so different a character, that the change may be described as the opening of a new world. In fact, national struggles following wars caused by heresy, then wars of propagation being succeeded by wars against the internal enemies which arose every where as a consequence of the new opinions, it became necessary to organize the military forces which since the days of the Pagan civilization had been exclusively possessed by the Mahometan and Tartar tribes. Then

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* Pierre Mathieu, Hist. de Hen. IV.

† Cibrario in Polit. State of the Mid. Ages, 145.

‡ Mich. Hist. de France, v. 258.

§ Coyer, la Noblesse, &c. ii. 176.

‖ Ferd. and Isabel. ii. 313.

cries of nature too late and foolishly break forth, lamenting, in words of agony,—

> " The multitude of moving heartless things
> Whom slaves call men ; who come obediently
> Like sheep which from the fold the shepherd brings
> To the stall red with blood—that kings
> Lead them, thus erring, from their native home."

That now on multitudes is imposed

> " A task of cold and brutal drudgery ;"

in consequence of which they become

> " Hardened to hope, insensible to fear,
> Scarce living pulleys of a dead machine,
> Mere wheels of work, and articles of trade,
> That grace the proud and noisy pomp of power."

The very aspect of nature, as we remarked on a former road, is made to change. In 1591, when Queen Elizabeth was offering Henry IV. a thousand soldiers and five hundred horses to carry on his wars, France beheld, for the first time, that substitution, by authority, of warlike for pacific edifices, which in latter times became nearly universal. Then the ancient abbey of St. Eloi, at Noyon, on the taking of that city by Henry IV., was razed, and a citadel constructed on the site, built with the materials of the demolished abbey, while the monks were forced to contribute their money to the new erection ; though, it is true, so much of Catholic reverence still remained, that subsequently the abbey was restored, at the prayers of the magistrates and people*. In times more recent, the destruction was followed by no attempt at compensation. The monastery, with all its pacific appendages of groves, gardens, and stations, disappeared every where, to make place for the battery and its formidable outworks, as hideous as all that preceded it was beautiful. The holy mountain became the detached fort ; and, as was remarked before, natural loveliness was thus given up to the trade of war, as when the Romans consecrated to Mars the most agreeable spot of the field of Tarquin :—

> " Our arsenals and our armories are full ;
> Our forts defy assaults ; ten thousand cannon
> Lie ranged upon the beach, and hour by hour
> Their earth-convulsing wheels affright the city."

When Epimenides, the Creten, saw the fort of Munychium, he said, " How blind are men to the future ! If the Athenians

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* Moët de la Forte-maison, Antiquités de Noyon.

could foresee all the evils which their city will one day suffer from this place, they would carry it away with their teeth." But Infidel states at present, whatever may be the evils they foresee, are obliged to build up such forts, with what is as dear to them as their heart's blood, in order to feel secure against the consequences of their revolutions. Pierre Mathieu is filled with horror and amaze at the expense attending warfare, when it began to be extended on the new scale. "Each soldier sent from Spain to the war in the low countries," he says, "cost the king more than a hundred écus." We, too, hear voices proposing to economize, by a general disarmament of Europe, under pretence of international relations; tribunes and sophists, meditating fresh disturbances of social order, repeating that

> "We all are brethren; even the slaves who kill
> For hire are men;"

and expressing wonder, in their philosophic jargon, why our streets and forests must be filled

> "With armed men, whose glittering swords are bare,
> And whose degraded limbs the tyrant's garb do wear."

But, in consequence of the principles which have been substituted in many countries for the Catholic religion, it is found, by men who do not wish to see general confusion, that these very swords are the last bulwark of order and of civilization against universal anarchy; and therefore ever and anon through the streets of capitals, troops, hastening to death,

> "Are poured like brooks which to the rocky lair
> Of some deep lake, whose silence them awaits,
> Throng from the mountains when the storms are there."

The complaints, when not hypocritical, are, at all events, late; for those who have rejected the civilization that was formed by the Catholic Church must accept the only alternative possible, and reap the fruits that they have either with their own hands sown, or permitted, by their new legislation, others whom they favour, to sow every where. But now, returning to the normal state of human affairs, let us remark, that the ancient Catholic civilization was not left without sanction or authority when confronted with the evils which are inseparable from human life, and called upon to make war in consequence. "If we did but see things aright," says a French author, "perpetual peace would not seem so impossible." Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, it is, at all events, clear, that obstacles to such a state will never arise from the Catholic Church, unless, indeed, they be connected with that sword which its divine founder came

into the world to bring. But Catholicity, involving the sum of all human duties, which are subject, in some sense, to the contingency of human events, can never be restrained on any side by the lines of circumscription which vague philosophic speculation would propose to assign to it. Wars, therefore, fall within the range of its immense domain, and accordingly the attentive observer, who passes along this road, can be directed to it by the admirable consequences of its actions in regard both to the confinement within narrow limits of the cases of war, and to the manner and spirit with which it causes the war itself to be conducted.

"Let our princes learn," says Antonio de Escobar, "to proceed with a pacific mind to wars—that is, renouncing every wicked affection of the heart. Let them proceed through the sole desire of defending the empire and of obtaining peace*." Spenser sings the old Catholic opinion respecting war, in the lines—

"Vaine is the vaunt, and victory unjust
That more to mighty hands than rightfull cause doth trust."

But—

"Nought is more honourable to a knight,
Ne better doth beseeme brave chivalry,
Then to defend the feeble in their right,
And wrong redresse in such as wend awry."

And that such views are recognized by nature herself as just and practical, may be inferred from the words of one who could have only judged from its suggestions, as in the lines—

————"non nos odium, regnive cupido,
Compulit ad bellum : pro conjuge movimus arma †."

Accordingly, the wars that Catholicity has never denounced are those, not of Napoleon, who attacks, but of Charlemagne, who defends foreign nations ; for, if the latter sent soldiers against the Saxons, it was not to propagate opinions like Mahomet, or revolutionary governments, in modern times, but to prevent endless invasions of pacific Christendom by barbarous tribes. If we desire to find upon this road scenes which reason and humanity will pronounce memorable, Catholicity will not be excluded from our view ; for it is to the mountains of the Asturias, where Pelagius began the war of deliverance for Spain, when the Church was glorified in every heart, that we shall be directed rather than to the fields of Austerlitz and Moscow, where the Church was

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* Tom. iv. 187, in Evang. Sanc.

† Met. v. 7.

trampled on and defied. If those Catholic Spaniards had not persisted in their struggle to shake off the Moorish invaders, they would have left to the foul influence of the Mahometan heresy, destructive of every thing dear and honourable, all but the Asturian crags and the caves of Pelagius. What would have become of Europe if, after the defeat of the Guadalete, they had submitted to the yoke of their conquerors? The sympathy with the Arabs shown by many late writers is little conformable to justice or reason; "for," as a recent author says, "no one can deny that right was on the side of the Spaniards, and that in rising against these conquerors they accomplished a noble duty*." Terrible are the images of death, and loud the cries, when Moors surprise the Spanish camp by night—

"Alarma! alarma! sonavan
Los pifanos y atambores;
Guerra! fuego! sangre! dizen
Sus espantosos clamores."

But these vows to conquer or to die can be associated with solemn and religious hymns, as those still sung upon the festival of St. Ferdinand—

"Non decus vanum, vel iniqua laudis
Aura Fernandum, neque cæcus ardor
Impium Maurum merita domare
Cæde coëgit.
Charitas movit patriæ, fidesque
Cordis accensis animata flammis
Pulchra virtutum comitante longo
Ordine virtus †."

What can be more in accordance with justice and the austerest sense of duty, than the origin of the military religious orders of Calatrava in Castille, and of Alcantara, in the kingdom of Leon. The Moors threatening Castille, and the Templars despairing of being able to defend Calatrava, that place was given up by them to the king, Sancho II. As no one offered to undertake its defence, two Cistercian monks offered themselves—Raimond, abbot of Fitero, and Diego Velasquez, an old soldier of Alphonso, king of Castille, who was at that time, as ancient authors say, through contempt of human things, a monk. The king accepted their offer, and gave the place to the new military order founded by them: and they took such skilful measures, that the Moors did not even dare to present themselves before the place. Such was the origin of the military and monastic order of Calatrava,

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* Damas. Hinard. Romancero General, xxix.

† Arevalus, Hymnodia Hisp.

which was confirmed by Pope Alexander III.*. Wars, then are therefore Catholically just and holy, when men who fall in battle merit the encomium passed by ancient historians on that Simon de Montfort—"Dei ecclesiæ in Anglia devotissimus cultor et fidelissimus protector, hero of the poor, of the population, of the Church—qui pro justitia legitime agonizantes migraverunt ad Dominum†." But let us remark here the ideal of warlike action, and of its legitimate grounds, which is furnished by the Roman Pontifical, in order to observe the direction yielded by a desire of finding the highest and noblest doctrine respecting the use of arms.

The pontiff, in giving the sword to the king at his coronation, admonishes him that he is to use it for the defence of the Church and for the defence of the faithful, adding these remarkable words—"Nec minus sub fide falsos, quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris ac dispergas."

In the benediction of armour, the pontiff prays for a blessing —"Super hæc arma et super induentem ea, quibus ad tuendam justitiam induatur," and he speaks of the wearer as desiring to bear these arms "for the defence of our holy mother Church, and of orphans and widows‡." Blessing the sword, he says, "Take this sword, and use it—ad defensionem tuam ac sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, et ad confusionem inimicorum crucis Christi ac fidei Christianæ; et quantum humana fragilitas permiserit, cum eo neminem injuste lædas§." In blessing the standard, the pontiff invokes the Almighty—"Qui est cunctorum benedictio et triumphantium fortitudo—that it may be in defence of the faithful used—sitque inimicis populi Christiani terribile‖." Mark that. Nor to the holy terrible, as is that of liberalism now.

In the benediction of a new knight, the pontiff prays, saying, "O holy Lord, Father Almighty, who alone ordainest all things and disposeth rightly,—qui, ad coërcendam malitiam reproborum et tuendam justitiam, hast permitted, by a wholesome disposition, the use of the sword to men on earth, and hast wished the military order to be instituted for the protection of the people,—grant to this thy servant, who has lately bowed his neck to the yoke of warfare, courage in the defence of faith and justice: grant him an increase of faith, hope, and charity, the gift of thy fear and love—and so dispose in him rightly humility, perseverance, obedience, and good patience, that he may injure no one with that, or with any other sword unjustly¶." In fine, the pacific idea is to enter into every exercise of force; for, in giving the

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* Albertus Miræus, Chronicon. Cisterciensis, 160.

† Will. de Shepishered.

‡ De Benedict. Armorum.

§ De Benedict. Ensis.

‖ De Benedict. Vexilli Bell.

¶ De Benedict. Novi Militis.

sword to the new knight, the pontiff says, "Gird on thy sword—et attende, quod sancti non in gladio, sed per fidem, vicerunt regna."

St. Bridget, in mystic vision, beholds the faithful fulfilment of these vows and expectations. "The state of laics," she says, "was well disposed: for some of them tilled the ground; others built ships, and made commercial voyages, that the fertility of one region might supply the poverty of another; others laboured with their hands in different arts; and others assumed arms to defend the Church. Then a certain good man reasoned within himself thus, and said, 'I do not till the ground as a farmer; I sail not as a merchant; I am not an artisan, to work with my hands. What shall I do then to please my God? I am not even fit for defending the Church with arms, for I am weak and delicate, and my mind is unequal to contemplation. What is to be done? I will take an oath to defend the faith of the holy Church, and by the force of that oath I shall be able to overcome the weakness of my nature. I will swear to comfort the friends of God, to assist widows and orphans, and never to do any thing in opposition to the Church of God*.'" Such were the views and motives of men who said, with Don Lopez de Urrea, in Calderon, "The world shall learn that a sword is as terrible as the thunder when it is drawn in the cause of God." True, there were times when the event ordained by the all-wise Ruler of the world contradicted such expectations; but no one alive to honour could then treat with disrespect the motives at least which actuated men who, like the aged and heroic Norton, in the north of England, had, with simple eye, followed a banner on which was represented our Lord with bleeding wounds; or the peasants of the valley in Sweden, when they marshalled their hosts against the perfidious Gustava Wasa. No one, having any thoughts in common with men of Christian times, could doubt which way their souls passed when they left the field of battle for eternity. When St. Jane de Chantal heard of the death of her son, the Baron de Chantal, slain in the Isle de Rhé, fighting for the Church and the king against the foreign heretics, she gave thanks aloud to God for the honour He had conferred upon him, by taking him while combating for the Roman Church; and then she said, "O my dear son, how happy are you to have sealed with your blood the fidelity which your ancestors have always evinced for the Roman Church. I esteem myself happy, and thank God that I have been your mother †." Along this road of warriors there is a solemn monumental signal, directing to Catholicity, which no time can ever obliterate, consisting in these

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* Revelat. S. Birg. lib. viii. c. 32.

† De Changy, Mém. de S. J. de Chant. c. xix.

immortal images of the Crusades, which neither the lapse of ages, nor revolutions effected with a hope of overthrowing all vestiges of the ancient Christian civilization, can ever separate from the ideal of disinterested valour, and glorious self-renouncement, of which the language sounds like that inspired cry addressed of old to all nations, "Propter Sion non tacebo, et propter Jerusalem non quiescam."

Coligny and Jurieu, and in general the French Calvinists, agreed with Luther in regarding the Turks as less dangerous than Catholics, and even in manifesting that certain inclination for them which now so remarkably pervades the writings of men who all but avowedly renounce the Christian religion. This predilection of Protestantism from its cradle may have been more consistent than might at first be supposed; but, while this road has any wayfarers who cling to the benefits arising from Christian civilization—yes, and I will add, any whose youth has been nourished with the memory of the immortal deeds, and with the lofty and profound language of those noble ages when, as in the chivalrous romance of Lother and Maller, the consummation of all baseness and treachery was shown to be a willingness "to believe in Mahomet," while the necessary consequence of a great heart was immovable fidelity to Christ and his blessed mother, —there will be an impressive hand stretched out at this spot, pointing to the Catholic Church as to the source to which they owe the preservation not alone of a general and incomparable good, but even of their own honour. St. Pius V., by the force of his personal zeal and example, may be said to have saved Europe, and prevented its having been overrun by the Turks *. Marc Antony Colonna, after his victory of Lepanto, from which the Mahometan power has never recovered, left a memorial of the spirit which presided over this great achievement, that may be said to stand as a signal on this road for the direction of all future ages: for after his magnificent triumph in Rome, in order to show that he referred all his success to the divine aid, he presented to the church of Ara Cæli a silver column, on the pedestal of which the battle was represented, with this inscription—

"Christo victori
M. Antonius, Ascanii F.
Pontificiæ classis præfectus,
Post insignem contra Turcos victoriam.
Beneficii testanti causâ."

The repugnance for war which in all ages actuates some men, and generally the most heroic of the brave, cannot but find direction in the existence of Catholic orders of chivalry, which, like

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* De Falloux, Hist. de S. P. V.

that of the Band in Spain, declared that no knights belonging to them should dare to go to war excepting against the Turks, and that, if the king should compel them, they must lay aside their band, the insignia of their order*. The Templars, of whom Pedro Messie of Seville, says that he believes, with the common people of the time, with St. Diego of Magonce, with Nauclerus, with Antonio Sabalic, with St. Antoninus of Florence, and many others, that they were in general innocent †, the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whose house by West Smithfield, in London, for maintenance of soldiers against the Turks and Infidels, was consistently suppressed by King Henry VIII., as Stowe records, will never be wholly out of sight upon the road of warriors, and while visible will never suffer the glories of Catholicism to perish from the human memory.

Master Hubert, who preached the crusade in England, in 1227, found more than 60,000 men inscribed on his list, as Mathieu Paris says, who pledged themselves to march, the poor above all being full of zeal in this cause. Does the record of that movement, so holy and so popular, furnish no direction to the source whence noble enthusiasm can be drawn? "The principal lords of France," says the same historian, "had great losses in the crusade. The Duke of Bavaria, who had more than 100,000 marks of Cologne revenue, spent all his treasure in this war. The Duke of Saxony did the same. The Dukes of Brunswick, of Brabant, of Lorraine, of Limbourg, of Swabia, and of Austria, were also great sufferers ‡." Is there nothing to be inferred from such sacrifices with respect to the comparative power of the Catholic faith and of mere religious opinions, in rendering disinterested the character of rulers and nobility?

The crusaders meet us on this road as men whose motives were holy and whose enterprise was for a holy end. "Grant that this thy servant," such was the prayer of the Church for those receiving the cross, "who desires to follow thee, denying himself and taking up his cross to fight against our enemies for the safety of thy elect people, may be ever protected;" and, in giving the cross, the pontiff was to say, "Take this sign of the cross for the defence of your soul and body—ut divinæ bonitatis gratia post iter expletum salvus et emendatus ad tuos valeas remeare §." The indulgences accorded to the crusaders were of course, like all others, given on the express condition of men having realized by their intention the ideal comprehended in their grant; for, as the decree of the council of Lateran declared, the men to obtain them were those qui in pœnitentia

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* Lettres dorés d'Ant. de Guevara.

† Les Diverses Leçons, Pars ii. c. 4.

‡ Ad ann. 1254.

§ Pontif. Rom. de Bened. et Impositione Crucis.

vera decesserint; and, accordingly, all records of the Crusades point significantly to the great triumphant hosts who in discomfiture and death reaped heaven. "Truly," says the old Catholic historian, "by such great expenses, dangers, and labours for recovering the earthly Jerusalem, little was done; but for repairing the supernal Jerusalem, much—pro recuperandâ terrenâ Jerusalem parum actum est; pro instaurandâ vero supernâ Jerusalem, plurimum*." War therefore points to Catholicity as having been converted by it into one of the instruments by which "the walls of Jerusalem, those spiritual walls which guard the human soul, may be built up."

War being thus, though an evil, sometimes lawful, and even meritorious in the highest sense, let us proceed to observe whether there are not duties arising out of it, for the fulfilment of which it behoves all men to wish, so as in consequence to desire that the influence of Catholicity, which furnishes the best security for their accomplishment, may be extended and perpetuated. Among these duties, the first may be regarded as the pacific mind which endeavours previously, as far as possible, to obviate the necessity of an appeal to arms.

Before battle the Spartan kings were always to sacrifice to the Muses. This was better than the practice of many in modern times, who, in order to gain so many pennies a line, compose exercises that seem designed for gaining an indulgence from the enemy of the human race, publishing in journals, to be read by foreign nations, whatever an ingenious fancy can conceive as being the most incisive and exasperating to drive to madness a race that they dislike. Such men have no occasion to feign themselves insane, like Solon; since he who proclaims thus, as it were, that he is come from Salamis to excite his countrymen to war, though for some interest not worth the splinter of a lance, is sure to be well received. The Paris tennis-balls sent from the Dauphin to our Henry furnish an instance, in times less familiar with such levity, of the mock of pleasant men, which could mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down, whose souls, according to the Catholic view, stood sore charged for the wasteful vengeance that they caused. But Catholicity declares infamous such provocations. "It was a wise French captain," says an old historian, "who in presence of the imperial army in Mayence, in 1552, would not allow his men to practise certain military derisions,—sachant bien que telles mocqueries ont autre fois esté cause de grands maux †." In general, the desire of the Catholic Church might be expressed in the solemn lines of Æschylus, saying, "May this city be of gentle conduct to-

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* Guil. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. iv. 28.

† Paradin, Contin. de l'Hist. de Nostre Temps, 156.

wards strangers before preparing war, and may it repair offences before defeat"—

ξένοισί τ' εὐξυμβόλους,
πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη,
δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων διδοῖεν[*].

The humanity and respect for enemies which Catholicity would enforce, must certainly have attractions for those who admire Alexander for having given a royal funeral to the wife of his enemy Darius, when she died his prisoner. Gosport can bear witness that such acts are not to be expected now. But the old chivalrous manners must ever point to Catholicism, from which they emanated, as to a source of gentleness in war far exceeding what Cicero so extolled when he observed, that in ancient times the adversary was only styled hostis—lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. Had he known the mediæval manners, he would not have asked, Quid ad hanc mansuetudinem addi potest, eum quicum bella geras tam molli nomine appellari[†]? The religious bond of one faith furnished by Catholicism had no tendency to embitter or extend the consequences of wars. In 1396, Richard III. declares his will, that the rent of twenty marks sterling, given by his predecessors for lights round the tomb of St. Edmund, which had not been paid during the late war, should thenceforth be paid to the abbey of Pontigny, notwithstanding the war which seemed about to recommence with his adversary of France[‡]. William the Norman, immediately after the battle of Hastings, grants to the people he had conquered a great pacific religious institution, of which the social influence was represented by the image of St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar; for the seal of the abbot of Battle, which was under the title of St. Martin, bore the impression of that history. Robert of Glocester says,—

"King William bithought hym alsoe
Of folke that was forlorne
And slayn al' thoruz hym,
En the battaile biforne.
And ther as the battaile was
An abbey he let rere
Of Seint Mertin, for the soules
That ther slayn wer."

It must be confessed, that if a nation is to be vanquished in war, there is reason for preferring a Catholic conqueror, who builds and endows a new abbey, to one of the Pagan and modern type,

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[*] Supp. 697.
[†] De Off. i. 11.
[‡] Chaillon des Barres, l'Abbaye de Pontigny, 110.

who destroys and plunders, like the Swiss liberals, every religious house that he finds existing within his power. Catholicity obtains respect in war even for holy times, which the moderns select as most proper for the commencement of hostilities by arms, or by votes often more destructive than the sword. William of Malmesbury is a witness, that the suspension of hostilities in Lent prevailed down to the twelfth century; for he says that, in 1143, the empress and the king having suspended hostilities from Christmas to Lent, when Lent began, ordered an entire cessation of arms, the armies in consequence retiring*. Mathieu Paris, speaking of the dispute between the townsmen and scholars of Cambridge, says, "I have judged these details worth recording here, because the enemy of the human race, according to his custom, raised this sanguinary discord between the scholars and townsmen during the season of Lent; and because both here, and in the parts beyond sea, it is the season he always chooses, as this history can show, in order that this consecrated epoch should be violated as well as the persons of men†." However, Pope Nicholas I., in answer to the question of the Bulgarians respecting wars in Lent, replied, "If no necessity urges, not alone in Lent, but at all times, it is unlawful to fight. But, if there be inevitable necessity, it is lawful to contend in Lent in self-defence, or in defence of one's country and of one's ancestral laws‡." "Outrage sans défiance est vilénie," says the old Catholic law of war. Defiance was necessary before hostilities. St. Louis required the lapse of forty days' interval. Catholicism would also stigmatize any act of advantage taken of an occasion presented by the devotion of the enemy. Some may have read of certain sailors, in the year 1704, scaling a rock and capturing some women who were going in procession to a chapel; of the inhabitants of the place capitulating to save their women, and of the nation to which the sailors belonged having taken possession of the fortress as their own. This account, if true, would furnish an example of the kind of warfare which must look elsewhere for approval. A conviction that the most important element of success in war must be justice, is imparted by Catholicism, as appears from innumerable passages of history. Roger, bishop of London, in his journey to Rome, had been robbed during the night by some inhabitants of Parma, who went against him. Some time after, when that city was besieged by Frederic II., the citizens, remembering the crime, resolved to humble themselves for it; and, finding on inquiry what was the exact sum that the bishop had lost, they made a vow to restore it; after which vow, making a sally, they rushed upon the

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* Lib. ii. Hist. p. 195.

† Ad ann. 1249.

‡ Le P. Thomassin, Traité des Jeûnes, ii. c. 25.

enemy, and put to flight the whole imperial army, after which victory Parma was no more endangered *. Taking an undue advantage in declaring war was no less considered infamous. So William of Newbury, speaking of the king of France invading Normandy while Richard I. was in captivity, says, "It seemed shameful to all men to declare war against a man in bonds and incapable of waging war—but malice, greedy of injuring, has no regard to virtue †." If the right of justice had superseded the right of force in the conduct of war, the world owed the change to that civilization which emanated from the Catholic Church. Those who disregard her influence are to this day inclined to hold the language of the ancient Gauls to the Romans, declaring it to be the most ancient law, that the strong have a right to seize what they please from the weak.

During long ages, the Holy See was interposed to prevent the realization of such views. Hear how Pope Innocent III. writes to the Florentines after their great victory over Sienna: "Now you will cover yourselves with greater glory by being contented after victory with that which you were ready to accept before it. For it is only by ruling over your carnal passions that you will be true conquerors. It is he who can curb his passions, and not he who can conquer cities, who deserves to be preferred ‡." Pierre Mathieu bears witness that the old chivalrous spirit continued to benefit the vanquished even so late as during the wars of Henry IV.; for he says, that "a quarter of an hour after a victory the conquered used to be seen mixed with the conquerors, and be found at the king's levee, at his dinner, in his cabinet, and at all hours. In short, les petits maistres de camp de guerres civiles, who would have never dared in their lives to speak to the king if they had not been his enemies, were thus received; and in that very capacity he showed them this favour §."

Generosity, mercy, charity, piety, are required by Catholicity even when men take up arms—"Misericorditer enim," as St. Augustine says, "si fieri posset, etiam bella gerentur à bonis ||." Therefore, William of Newbury says, that "from the beginning there was never heard of any Christian king or emperor detaining captive another prince returning from the holy voyage. But what will not the thirst for gold excite in mortal breasts? The Roman emperor, oh, shame! setting aside all shame and all honesty, blushed not to be another Saladin ¶." And Mathieu Paris says, that when the English king began to ravage Gascony, the inhabitants, indignant, regretted their chivalrous enemy, the

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1248.

† Rer. Anglic. lib. iv. 32.

‡ Hurter, Gesch. Inn. III. lib. xi.

§ Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. v.

|| Ep. v. ad Marc.

¶ Rer. Ang. iv. 31.

Count of Leicester, Simon de Montfort, and regarded the destruction of the vines, and the burning of the houses, as a war of old women, and not of men *. That cruelty arising from fear, which, after the first Punic war, caused the Romans, through dread of the Gauls, and in obedience to the Sibylline oracles, to bury alive two Greeks and two Gauls, leaves no traces in the annals of Catholic chivalry. "I read in Ausonius," says Antonio de Escobar, "that he ought to be called a great prefect who triumphs over rebels without bloodshed †." In the romancero of the Cid, beginning "Don Sancho veyna en Castilla," concerning the battle between the kings Don Alphonso and Sancho, in which the latter was conquered, we read—"Alphonso commanded his army not to slay the Christians opposed to him, on whom he has great compassion, laying all the blame upon his brother." Lycas, in the old tragedy, styles the bow the most cowardly weapon—

> —— ἀλλὰ τόξ' ἔχων,
> κάκιστον ὅπλον ‡.

That the world is indebted, as we are now often told, to the invention of destructive methods of warfare is a proposition which the old chivalry would hardly have admitted. "The name of the German who discovered gunpowder," says Pedro Messie of Seville, "is unknown; and justly indeed has it perished, being unworthy of memory §." Perhaps it is still true that science, under the influence of Catholicity, would conceal its powers, and say with the poet,—

> "Some one intent on mischief, or inspired
> With devilish machination, might devise
> Like instrument to plague the sons of men
> For mutual slaughter bent."

The horror of avarice, associated with war, in like manner points to Catholic chivalry far more than to the views of the modern civilization. "You can require 200,000 pieces of gold," said a courtier, "for making peace with Venice and Florence." "I do not sell peace," replied Alphonso of Aragon, "I give it." "Marius Curius swore," says Pliny, "that he had taken nothing of the booty, but one little vessel of beech-wood, to offer sacrifice with ||." The crusaders, and in general the Catholic heroes of the middle ages as those of Genoa, who only accepted the sacra catena, might have taken the same oath. So Calderon represents Don Fernando replying to the Moor Muley, "I give you your

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* Ad ann. 1235.

† In Evang. Comment. tom. vi. 235.

‡ Herc. Fur. 160.

§ Diverses Leçons, 8.

|| N. H. lib. xvi. 73.

liberty; and the pleasure I receive in giving it to you is the only ransom that I ask." St. Pius V. would not suffer his troops to take ransom for prisoners; but, by his order, all were set free gratuitously *. "It is the custom of Flanders," says an old Flemish writer, "from ancient times observed as a law, that whenever war arises, no one should ever presume to plunder or spoil any one †." All acts in contravention were regarded with execration. "Earl Richard, who went to combat the Irish under Henry II.," says William of Newbury, "after having squandered his patrimony in England, having nothing but naked nobility, acquired great riches by this expedition; but he died soon after, showing how vainly he had toiled, risking his salvation for riches of which he could carry away nothing, but left all to ungrateful heirs ‡." As in regard to the victims, so on the instruments of war the Catholic influence is discernible, recommending itself to all observers who would respect what is ordained by nature. "Zingiton, the terrible Tartar king, maintains," says Matthew Paris, "such discipline in his army, that actually no one dares to suffer his voice to be heard, and no one ventures to ask whither marches our lord, or what does he propose." Obedience is necessary in the military as in the monastic state; but it is not a Tartar obedience, or that of the secret societies leagued now against civilization, requiring in their members an abnegation of all individuality, which Catholicity, the only sure guardian and guide of individuality, inspires. In regard to all estates, it teaches, in the words of Weston, that "if superiors should command things manifestly contrary to the subject's conscience or rule, the subject must not stand to the superior's judgment, nor is he then bound to obey him. Such is the obedience of Friar Minors, which verily is the most perfect, and of the largest extent of any religious obedience whatsoever in God Almighty's Church §." If cases now occur in military life where the individual is required to yield to the general conscience, which the policy of infidel states may respect, we should remember that such collision arises from the fact of heresy having created private eccentricity, which is incompatible with the general interest. Catholicity would remove all such difficulties, leaving only the question of the legitimacy of the particular war. But this undoubtedly would still remain. "The king's cause is just," says a soldier, speaking to Henry V. with Shakspeare, to whom another soldier replies, "That's more than we know." "Ay," says the disguised king, "more than we should seek after; for we know enough if we

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* De Falloux, Hist. de S. P. V. ii. 188.

† Fr. Gualter Tarvan. Vit. S. Caroli Mart. c. 19.

‡ Rer. Ang. lib. ii. 26.

§ F. Weston on the Rule of the Friars Minors, ch. x. 10.

know we are the king's subjects: if his cause be wrong, our obedience to the king wipes the crime of it out of us." The soldier then says, "I am afeard there are few die well that die in battle. If these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the king that led them to it, whom to disobey were against all proportion of subjection." The king then, evading the whole question about the justice of his cause, seeks to convince the other, that "when a soldier dies ill, the king is not to answer for it, because the soldier ought to have prepared himself for death." But we have only to consult the old Christian books on war to see proof, that the absolute exclusion of all consideration of the justice of the cause, when its violation is manifest, results from the code of a civilization very unlike that which produced the Christian chivalry. Ægidius Gabrielus, in his Specimens of Diabolic Morality, deplores the obedience which is exclusive of fidelity to God. "Inordinate love in kings and ministers reduces," he says, "all things to matters of state, by which they understand the interest of the kingdom. Hence kings deem all permitted which can favour their notions of grandeur, and power, and superiority to other kings; hence they congregate vast armies, by which they may conquer other states, under some good pretext of either religion, or self-preservation, or of prudence; hence they invade and carry on war, and say that all the crimes of war are inevitable consequences, and so they deem themselves justified; hence they compel their subjects to take arms, that they may be a holocaust to their ambition, and spend a life more devout to the king than to God; and, in a word, they dispose all things with greater empire than if they were God; for He, indeed, 'attingit à fine ad finem fortiter sed disponit omnia suaviter,' whereas they dispose all things cruelly, and violently, and unjustly*." Conscriptions, long-constrained service, violations of conscience by military discipline—all these attendants on modern war were removed during many ages by the influence of the Catholic Church. The Emperor Maurice would not permit soldiers to become monks before their term of service expired: St. Gregory the Great protested, and the measure was abandoned.

In fact, the formation of the military character, combining its necessary qualities with the no less essential graces of the Christian disciple, constitutes a signal to direct all passing on this road to the Catholic Church, which has ever counted soldiers, devout to God as well as faithful to their princes, among her members, thus perpetuating the examples presented in the history of our Lord. St. Augustine, following the sacred tradition of apostolic men, writes accordingly to instruct soldiers in their duty, and,

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* Ægid. Gab. Specimina Moralis Diabolicæ, p. ii. § xvi.

addressing Count Boniface, says, " Hoc primum cogita, quando armaris ad pugnam, quia virtus tua et fortitudo corporalis donum Dei est. Sic enim cogitabis de dono Dei non facere quidquam contra Deum. Esto etiam bellando pacificus, ut eos quos expugnas ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas *."

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he that every man in arms should wish to be? It is the martyr and saint of the Roman armies while the empire lasts; it is the converted Goth described by saintly historians; it is the chivalrous knight of the middle ages; it is the Catholic soldier of the British regiment, who resists the vicious influence that heresy creates around him; it is the Catholic general of the present day, often, as in France, a model of all piety and grace. Rome, delivered by an Oudinot, can bear witness that this is true. " If a soldier be unjust," says Plato, " the gods forbid that he should dare to endure the view of blood and carnage †." Catholicism adds, what the poet of Sparta ought to have said, if he had wished to say what was right, that it holds unworthy of its praise, and counts for nothing, him who associates vice with the profession of arms. Indeed an historian of the middle ages regards it in some sort as a school of virtue. " Laborum et bellorum assiduitate," he says, " minus libet superbire, minus delectat mœchari, illis qui etiam assidue timent mori. Bella itaque exteriora interiorum sunt sæpe peremptoria bellorum et oppressio inimicorum ‡." " There is no life," says St. Bridget, " more austere than the military life, if it be adhered to in its true sense; for the helmet is heavier than the cowl; and to proceed against armed enemies is more terrible than to contend against the flesh; and to watch armed is harder than to rest on a hard bed; and abstinence is not so afflicting as the constant danger of death §." Don Antonio de Guevara takes the same view of the military state. " As in our time," he says, " the Carthusian seems to be the strictest order, so formerly the order of knights was the strictest of all; of which, if gentlemen would observe the laws, I swear they would not have much time to be vicious, nor should we have to treat them as bad Christians when they come to die. The true knight must be neither proud nor malicious, nor wrathful, nor gluttonous, nor stingy, nor prodigal, nor false, nor impious, nor idle. To be a good Christian, he should contemplate Jesus as crucified; and to be a good knight he should keep before his eyes the arms of his shield, gained by his ancestors; for he will find that they gained them not by their vices in their houses, but by their

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* De Verb. Dom. Serm. xix.

† De Legibus, lib. ii.

‡ Joan. Monach. Ganf. Ducis Norman. Hist. lib. i.

§ Revelat. S. Birgit. lib. iii. c. 27.

virtue in the field *." "In Pilate's house, indeed," he says in another work, "such as the common people call hangmen were called knights—et milites hæc fecerunt; but those who laid hands on Christ, however they may be called in the Hebrew tongue, were vile and base persons. God forbid that any man should think that a man of good stock, or of a noble house, or any man of valour, would have laid hands upon Christ †." In the Ecce Homo, by Albert Dürer, the murderers, says Frederick Schlegel, are warriors in caricature, replete with wickedness and ferocity, but caricatures of profound signification ‡. The poet who represents so well the spirit of the French people in modern times, describes the hero of their idolatry as resembling the brazen statue of a god. "That man seen for an instant passing, remained," he says, "on my memory as a strange prodigious vision; and, speaking to my father, I asked, Why, O my father, has our emperor, who makes all things move, and who sets all on fire, why has he that cold look and that immoveable aspect?" It was that the type was changed. It was that the conqueror who passed was the personification of new ideas respecting war and the character of warriors. Catholicism did not unmake the man when it made the soldier: it left, or rather it made him, the very counterpart of that stoical severity transferred to the domain of war. If you doubt my words, methinks one glance at any ancient tomb inclosing a soldier of her forming, can convince you—

"You see a warrior carved in stone
Among the thick weeds, stretched alone,
A warrior with his shield of pride
Cleaving humbly to his side,
And hands in resignation prest
Palm to palm, on his tranquil breast."

"The Count de Montfort," says an ancient historian, describing such a soldier as he was in life, "spent the night before the battle sleepless, devoted to divine works, exhorting his fellow-soldiers by word, and encouraging them by his example to confess their sins in the spirit of humility, and with a contrite mind, that so, purified from all sin, they might intrepidly commence a contest undertaken through the zeal of justice and in the cause of God §." Robert Wace says that the Norman soldiers, having no long hair or beards, or mustaches, seemed to the Saxons to be so many priests all shaven and shorn, who could chant

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* L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 1219.
† The Myst. of Mt. Calvary, 225.
‡ Æsthetic Works, translat. Millington.
§ Chronicon Will. de Rishanger, 30.

masses, and that Harold replied to those who wondered at it, "that they were all valiant knights, haughty-spirited vassals, and very warlike notwithstanding they had neither beard nor mustaches *." To no brazen god would any one have thought of comparing that Duke of Guise, who a few moments after receiving the poisoned balls of Poltrot at the siege of Orleans, kissed his little son, the Prince de Joinville, saying to him, "Dieu te fasse la grace, mon fils, de devenir homme de bien;" or that Alonso Hernandez de Aguilar, who fell in the fatal surprise of the Alpuxarras, after charging his heroic son, who fought wounded at his side, to suffer himself to be removed from the field, saying, "Let not the hopes of our house be crushed at a single blow. Go, my son, live as becomes a Christian knight; live and cherish your disconsolate mother." This warrior's death would never have been one of the most celebrated themes of a Catholic Spanish song, if he had been seen like a brazen deity more than a man of flesh and blood. "For more than forty years of his life," says Father Abarsa, "he served against the infidel. He was the fifth lord of his warlike and pious house who had fallen fighting for their country and religion against the accursed sect of Mahomet; and there is good reason to believe that his soul has received the glorious reward of the Christian soldier, since he was armed on that very morning with the blessed sacraments of confession and communion." But take a recent instance. At the first assault by the French, when Rome was in the hands of the new Pagans, the aide-de-camp of the general Levaillant fell mortally wounded. After confessing to the Abbé du Cosquer, the general came to see him. "Do you suffer much, commander?" he demanded. "Beaucoup, mon général," he replied with simplicity, "mais pas encore assez pour Dieu." The general fell on his knees and wept. The piety of those who follow arms under the influence of Catholicity often seems to be communicated to all who approach them. I am willing to cite as an instance a circumstance related in the history of the dukes of Guise. Francis, Count d'Aumale, son of Claude de Lorraine, the first Duke of Guise, received at the siege of Boulogne the most dangerous wound ever inflicted on a man without producing death. The lance of an English soldier entered above the right eye, descended towards the nose, and passing through the head, between the nucula and the ear, broke off short, leaving the iron in the wound, without any hold to facilitate its extraction. All who beheld him gave up every hope, shuddering with horror at the sight. Alone one surgeon, Ambroise Paré, was not discouraged. Placing his foot upon the face of D'Aumale, with a smith's

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* Roman de Rou.

pinchers he succeeded in drawing out the weapon without breaking bone or nerve, vein or artery; and when it was said afterwards, that the scar which attested the miraculous cure was as glorious for Paré as for the hero, that great surgeon modestly used to reply, " Je le pensay et Dieu le guarit *."

Catholicism, in sanctioning wars in defence of Christianity, took care to leave no one in ignorance of the qualities which should belong to those who served in them. " What more illustrious order in the world," says St. Thomas of Villanova, " than this of St. James? But I wish that it were as strict in observance of religion as it is illustrious; but in this respect it has fallen from its pristine state; for now its chief care is about, not religion, but revenue. Say, in what is a commendatory distinguished from a lay soldier? What greater religion, modesty, or temperance, is in the house of one than in that of the other? whereas the whole house of the former ought to resemble a monastery. Perchance, if you knew your obligations you would not receive the revenues. Of other orders, some are instituted to receive pilgrims, others to redeem captives, others to teach the people, others to devote themselves to contemplation; but yours is to defend the faith—to die for the faith. What can be more elevated †?" Writing in the same spirit, William of Newbury complains that the crusaders' camp was not as holy, and pure in manners, as it ought to have been, adding this curious remark—" Castra enim a castratione dicuntur luxuriæ ‡." " Oh, it is not by such lives," says St. Thomas of Villanova, " that we can prosper in resisting the Turks. Of what avail to collect an army and to collect sins? The Turks are the scourge of God. If we amend our lives, the divine mercy will avert it from us, and give us victory. I do not say that we should lay down our arms; for that would be silly, and a tempting of God, but I affirm that we should please God, and then defend ourselves by arms, as did David §." Without doubt many had corresponded with such expectations. Such was that Duke Leopold of Austria, surnamed the Glorious, as his father had been called the Good, one of the most amiable princes in the time of Pope Innocent III., crowned, as Hurter says, with the triple splendour of the ducal dignity, chivalrous heroism, and the sweetness of a Christian, who was ready to leave his cherished wife, sprung from the imperial family of the East, his beloved children, his country, his relations, his grateful subjects, his domains, and all the glory of the world, to take up the cross and combat the infidel.

" In the diocese of Utrecht," says Cæsar of Heisterbach,

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* René de Bouillé, Hist. des Ducs de Guise, i. 155.

† De S. Jacob. Ap.

‡ Rer. Anglic. lib. i. 20.

§ Fer. 6 ante i. Dom. Quad.

"was a knight named Wiger, famous in deeds of war. In the first expedition of God, being contrite, he passed the sea signed with the cross, and fought against the Saracens with such valour, that he became dear to the king of Jerusalem and the Christians, and formidable to the enemies of the Christian name. After a year, one day as he was thinking of returning to his country, his servant in his sight was slain in battle; and, thinking that he saw his soul ascending to heaven, he felt such increased contrition for his sins, that he renounced his intention of returning, lest he should return to former vices, and then, exposing himself to danger more than ever, he fell in another battle; whose head the Saracens cut off, but the body was buried with honour by the Christians, who built a church over it *." Observers have been often struck with the countenance and general expression of Catholic soldiers engaged in a holy cause, when contrasted with the character of their antagonists. The Marquis de Custine was at Saint-Gingolph on the 27th of May, in 1844, when the Catholic armed forces, consisting of a levy en mass, from the age of sixteen to fifty-five, entered that town. "At last," he says, "the tigers are arrived. They have an expression of patience and of gravity that is most imposing. Their extreme politeness to strangers, and to the people of the country, forms a singular contrast to the character given of them before their arrival. To see the humility of the conquerors and the furious pride which is painted on the countenances of the conquered, you would have taken these last for the triumphant party, and the others for their prisoners †."

But, returning to a consideration of men engaged in the service of ordinary wars, let us continue to observe, that Catholicism no less exercises a salutary influence on the character of the soldier.

——— "Ask yonder knight in arms
Both who he is, and why he cometh hither
Thus plated in habiliments of war."

He may decline to be his own herald; but, if the old sentiments of Catholic chivalry animate his breast, the presumption is, that he will prove what Spenser loves to paint—

"A noble, warlike knight,
Plaine, faithfull, true, and enemy of shame,
And ever loves to fight for ladies' right;
But in vaine glorious frayes he little does delight."

In other words, he devotes himself, in the true spirit of his profession, which is designed for the purpose of defending the weak, and of protecting the cause of justice, still loving peace while

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* Illust. Mir. lib. xi. c. 23.

† L'Univers, 5 Juin, 1844.

exercising force to secure it for the Christian people. When occasions are not presented, it is a man perhaps more gentle, true, and just than others—one of the faithful; a man of action, but often also a man of prayer, a man of thought, and of varied information too. Alcuin, in one of his letters, expresses joy on being consulted on a point of learning by one of the chief officers of the imperial army; and he takes occasion to remark, that literature and arms are not incompatible. So, in much later times, we find the Spanish admiral, Don Fadrique Henriquez, writing several letters to the bishop, Don Antonio de Guevara, to ask him the meaning of several passages in the holy Scriptures *. Baptist, the Mantuan, addressing a great general, says, "You, indeed, profess arms, but the road to no felicity is closed against you"—

> "Non tamen ad sacros clausa est tibi semita fontes:
> Nam neque militiam, nec magna negotia regum
> Explodit virtus, sanctæ vero omnia musæ
> Quæ virtus concedit amant. Lege præteritarum
> Tempora et annales rerum, conjuncta videbis
> Martia Pieridum studiis et cantibus arma."

Accessible to historic lessons, the men we meet pursuing this road will often prove to be the last to favour modern irreverence; they will retain respect and veneration for what is holy; and that also, we may say, from a principle which their peculiar mode of life is calculated to strengthen; they will be religious—præsertim natura ipsa magistra et duce. Men noted as profane the words and act of Talbot a few minutes before receiving his death-wound, when hearing that the French were flying from their intrenchments before Châtillon, he left the mass at which he was assisting, saying, "Let me never hear mass if I don't strike to the ground these flying French;" so, though warned by an officer who suspected treachery, whom he struck for remonstrating—hastening to pursue them: and yet this great Talbot must not be set down as always offering a contrast to the reverential spirit which belongs to the military character. "Talbot, being slain near Castillon," says an old writer, "a gold cross, garnished with diamonds, was found round his neck. After some years, this fell into the hands of a noble man, Pierre de Pombrian, sieur de Monreal, who opened the reliquary, and found in it a thorn; which, being so enshrined as one of the Saviour's crown, was then given to the parish of Aysac, where the curate had permission from the bishop to have it publicly exposed, the rescript being kept in the treasury of the castle of

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* Lettres Dorés de Guevara.

Montreal, where," says the Père Dupuy, "I have seen it*." This going to the wars with a memorial of the passion of Christ round the neck indicates a character, combined with a deep heart of piety, that Catholicity alone can form and perpetuate. We see an instance of it on the field of battle, when the Maréchal Strozzi received his mortal wound, while conversing with Francis, duke of Guise, at the siege of Thionville, when the latter hero spoke to him of Jesus Christ as if he had been a priest and confessor; though his zeal for saving that unhappy soul only led to the horrible replies which history has chronicled. In fine, Catholicity is full in view upon this road, as holding out its arms ever extended to receive to its bosom the sensitive and awakened hearts of those who find in war, and on the field of battle, motives for the supreme all-conquering love of God. Sine superbos humiliari, was the answer to a devout person praying for the army of Flanders, when about to engage in battle with William, king of the Romans, "which," says an old writer, "was verified three days after, though many were killed amongst them who in no way merited such a death; but that cruel fate was of no injury to the good, being profitable to their salvation, as appears in a certain faithful man, of whom we have heard from the venerable Mechtilde, mother of the said King William; for she, with the countess of Holland, after the battle of Walatria, came, with two Dominicans, to collect the wounded. 'As I passed,' she said, 'this man called me with a doleful voice, as he lay wounded on the ground, and when I placed his head in my lap, I exhorted him to know God; and then raising his eyes and his hands as well as he could to heaven, he said, 'I confess that I was obliged to come to the army; but I had resolved to hurt and spoil no one, therefore I die contented and happy; I pardon him who has slain me; and I pray the Almighty God to pardon him that he may have mercy on me. I wish to receive the viaticum of the Lord's body, but, not being able to do so, I receive him mentally;' and with these words, signing himself, he expired†." It is easy to take advantage, for a wrong-headed purpose, of such records; but they contribute to explain the great fact, no less historical and remarkable from being at the same time religious, that it is the profession of arms which, more than any other road of life, has yielded, not alone men willing to acquiesce in Catholicity, but saints for canonization. Yea, what is if possible still more striking, "of all professions, " says a holy writer, "it is the military state which furnishes the greatest number of subjects to La Trappe‡." Nor ought this to

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* Dupuy, l'Estat de l'Eglise du Périgord, lib. ii. p. 169.

† Cantip. lib. ii. c. 1. Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c., Magnum Spec.

‡ Hist. des Trappistes du Val Sainte Marie.

cause surprise; for these men in arms, like the soldier who gave his own horse to Gonsalvo when that of the latter was slain, and, commending to him the care of his wife and children, awaited death; or like the young nobleman, Juan de Altavilla, who, on a similar occasion, mounted King Ferdinand on his own horse, and paid for his loyalty with his life, who by acts of generous self-devotion throw such a melancholy grace over the dark features of the wars of modern Europe must be, after all, men in a supreme degree of heart, and who consequently will have fewer difficulties than those long exposed to the frigid, withering influences of other professions, when once directed towards spiritual perfection. At all events, wonder at it as men may, and none will be more sceptical than officers of the new type, the fact is so. On other roads we found avenues, attractions, signals, pointing to the Catholic faith. On this which we have now been following, we may report, therefore, without any fear of exaggeration, that we have found in abundance the men who profit by them. Account for it as you will, here have passed, under martial accoutrements, some of the most devoted and faithful of the disciples of the Catholic doctrine—the humble, the just, the merciful, the pacific, all pointing to the Church as to the object of their heart's allegiance, men who from the commotions and battles of a warring world—that is never satisfied without shortening the brief space allotted to human life, either by general or local hostilities—have reaped, and enabled others by their example, by their alms for the propagation of faith, which Catholic missioners all over the globe attest to be continual, and often by their brief piercing words effecting what no human eloquence could occasion, to reap the love and peace of eternity.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROAD OF KINGS.

If the forest has its by-paths and its winding narrow tracks, which men have sometimes carefully to search for, it has also its wide stately roads, formal and majestic, that no one can avoid traversing. We have lately passed along those that derive their title from men who represent the justice and the force of government. We have met only magistrates and soldiers; but this great main way that we now enter upon will bring us where we soon shall see the monarchies of the earth, their pomp and

state. The points where several roads meet in the French forests are called stars; and many such spots, formed by the intersection of umbrageous alleys, in the forest of St. Germain, recall its royal visitors. There we come to the star of the Queen, the star of the Princesses, the star of Richelieu, who, as their minister, is associated with kings. The forest, at least, seems to love them still; and their memories are every where within it. In the adjoining woods of Marly, at the end of a long green avenue, you find standing to this day the round marble table on which they used to take refreshment, attended by their brilliant court. It looks ghastly, indeed, now, all worn by time and overgrown with moss; but the oaks that are named after them are still as flourishing as ever. Companion, did you ever see a king of France returning to his capital by torch-light from any of his country palaces? I did. The torches waving from side to side, as held by the outriders, seemed in the distance like those meteors, or dancing lights, which belated travellers describe. I own that they came upon me like some forest apparition, which, if not fearful, was inexplicable. I wish you had been riding with me that night, to see them, increasing in brightness and magnitude, till at last, sweeping by with a loud noise of wheels and horses, they disclosed, through the suddenly illuminated trees, the carriages and escort of the royal train.

State super vias vestras, et interrogate de semitis antiquis *. There are no roads through the forest of life older than this of kings, since in the days of the Patriarchs the father of a family represented them. All antiquity, taught either by a divine voice, primitive tradition, reason, or sad experience, has recognized the need of government for mankind. "A state abandoned to licence," says the wise poet of the Greeks, "soon falls from prosperity to ruin,"—

ὅπου δ' ὑβρίζειν, δρᾶν θ' ἃ βούλεται, πάρα,
ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ ποτὲ
ἐξ οὐρίων δραμοῦσαν ἐς βυθὸν πεσεῖν †.

And the old Christian civilization had its popular language, to express the same conviction, as in the lines—

"Peupple qui n'a gouvernement
Va à declain villainement ‡."

After taking a few steps on this road, the Catholic Church is seen majestically standing straight before our eyes, establishing, on the only true and permanent foundation that can be laid, the security of the power which is essential to the society of the

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* Hier. 6. † Soph. Ajax, 1081.
‡ Quatrains Moraux.

human race. Nature proclaims the want; Catholicity supplies the means most suitable, most efficacious for supplying it. Such is the first opening, which only by the blind can be passed by unnoticed. If nature proclaims the want, it no less audibly attests the difficulty of government. "The authority of one man over another," says a religious writer, of an order that has yielded many wise rulers both to the Church and to the state, "is a thing which is always somewhat suspected by nature, on what side soever it comes. It must be practised insensibly, so that the flesh be rather cast into a slumber than irritated[*]." There is a mystery, with whom relation durst never meddle, in the soul of state, which hath an operation more divine than breath or pen can give expression to; and the ancient poet had the same thought when he makes his Theseus say, "One thing alone is necessary—the aid of Heaven:"

——— *ἀρετὴ δ' οὐδὲν φέρει*
βροτοῖσιν, ἣν μὴ τὸν θεὸν χρήζοντ' ἔχῃ[†].

The Creator, indeed, in his providential government of the world, has always supplied, in a truly mysterious manner, that assistance which is necessary to the existence of human society, according to the divine laws, which appear in all nature preordained. Heaven doth divide the state of man in diverse functions, setting endeavour in continual motion, to which is fixed as an aim or butt, obedience; for so work the honey bees. Opinion, creating an imaginary force, to which a far greater material power obeys, is the foundation on which nature works in regard to the government of mankind. "We must yield to force," says the Ajax of the great dramatist,—

τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμεσθα μὲν θεοῖς
εἴκειν, μαθησόμεσθα δ' Ἀτρείδας σέβειν,
ἄρχοντές εἰσιν· ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον[‡].

Accordingly, all antiquity again seemed impressed with a sense of the importance of upholding in the minds of men a conviction, not of the right of resistance, but of the obligation of obedience. "Though rulers may be deceived, justice," says Thrasymachus, "consists in obeying those who govern, and in doing whatever is for the interest of the strongest[§]." Antiquity had in view the horrors of popular sedition, which it deemed, not irrationally, the greatest of all evils. "I pray that you may be happy with your wives and children," says Ulysses to Alcinous—

καὶ μήτι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη[||].

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[*] B. Weston, on the Rule of the Friars Minors, ch. x. 4.

[†] Androm. 596.

[‡] Soph. Ajax, 666.

[§] Plat. de Repub. i.

[||] xiii. 45.

Theognis, citizen of Megara in Sicily, says to Cyrnus, that the man who is faithful in the day of sedition is more precious than gold and silver,—

> πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι
> ἄξιος, ἐν χαλεπῇ διχοστασίῃ.

It was in the multitude of such men that the force of a state was thought to consist. Therefore Lycurgus persuaded to come to Lacedæmon Thaletes, the poet and legislator, all whose odes were exhortations to obedience and concord. In short, the Gentiles were not insensible to the evil which is so energetically described in the sacred Scripture, where it is declared that "the accusation of a city, and the gathering together of the people, are more grievous than death *."

But it is easier to perceive than to remove the danger, a sense of which, meeting us thus early on the road of kings, can be said to supply a signal directing us to recognize the divine perfection of Catholicity in regard even to the political order; for where should we finish were we to observe the miseries of the human race in all ages of the world, arising from a contravention of the Creator's laws in regard to the social duties of mankind? "Maximum Rome præmium," says Livy, "seditiosum esse; id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse †." When such a nation suffers, it is the nation which causes its own misery, and might hear justly addressed to itself the words of the Chorus to the foolish father, "you have to blame yourself,"—

> αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν σαυτῷ σὺ τούτων αἴτιος,
> στρέψας σεαυτὸν ἐς πονηρὰ πράγματα ‡.

But how prone to such self-destructive insanity is nature! The barbarians, after embracing Christianity, are seen painfully impressed with a sense of the difficulty of their new condition, placed between duty and the resistance which corrupted passions ever offer to it. "Guntheramus, the good king," says St. Gregory of Tours, "not trusting his subjects, went ever armed, and even to the churches guarded. One Sunday after the deacon had prescribed silence to the people to hear mass, the king, turning to the people, said, 'I conjure you, O men, with the women present, to be faithful to me, and do not slay me as you slew my brothers;' and, when he ceased to speak, all the people poured out prayers for him to the Lord §." The old Pagan element of revolt yet survives, as it will ever while the world lasts. Even during the middle ages, even in the centre

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* Ecclesiastic. xxvi.
† Liv. lib. iv. c. 2.
‡ Nubes, 1455.
§ Greg. Tur. iv.

of Catholicity it is detected, and by the Christian voice of St. Bernard stigmatized in the words which at this moment are so truly applicable to the same Roman people, "Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta, gens immitis et intractabilis, et usque adhuc subdi nescia, nisi cum non valeat resistere*. Not even the strongly constituted monarchies of the Catholic civilisation in later times had the privilege of total exemption from danger on this side; for, as the Spaniards said to Bernard de Carpio in the Romancero beginning,—

"Con tres mil y mas Leoneses,"
"The king's power does not extend so far as to dispose of wills."

It is true there was then more certainty of the evil being detected and temporarily removed, of disgrace falling on those who caused it, than during any other period of the world's history. "Why do you take up arms," says Don Antonio de Guevara, to certain Spanish rebels in the reign of Charles V. "I can answer the question," he continues, "it is because Don Pedro Giron wishes to seize Medina Sidonia; it is because the Count of Salvatierre wishes to be captain-general of the justice of Spain; it is because Fernando d'Avalos desires to revenge an injury which he fancies he has received; it is because Don John de Padiglia wishes to be grand-master of St. James, and Don Pedro Lasso the first man in Toledo. Quintaniglia aspires to the government of Medina; Don Ferdinand d'Ulloa desires Toro, and longs to banish his brother from it; Don Pedro Pimentello aims at the command of Salamancha; the abbot of Compluto wants to be bishop of Zamora; Doctor Bernardin to be auditor at Vagliadolit; Ramir Nugnes hopes to seize Leon, and Charles d'Aregliado to have Soria and Vorabia. Hence it is that you desire troubles†."

It was reserved for a religion, founded on the assumed right of disobedience, to organize revolt, and to open within the vast domains of Christendom a source of permanent opposition to those great duties, of respect for authority, on which the security of the Catholic civilization had so long mainly depended. Protestantism, from the beginning, proclaimed the right of insurrection against the civil powers, and Catholicism has always preached obedience, but yet without sacrificing liberty. "All the world knows," as Balmes observes, "that Protestantism was mighty to excite troubles, to provoke divisions, and to dissolve society. Therefore, now more advanced infidels go to the bed of the torrent which it has left, in order to search for some of its impure

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* S. Bern. de Consideratione, lib. iv. 1.
† Les Epit. Dorées, lib. iii.

waters; and, with the certain knowledge of its being a deadly poison, they present it in a golden cup to an unsuspecting people[*]." In fact, as Possevin pointed out to John, king of Sweden, "the man who feels not the worm of conscience when he resists the ecclesiastical authority, will still less experience it when he thinks of overturning thrones, and of banishing and assassinating kings. So that, wherever heresy has established itself, it has been followed either by paganism or by some barbarous sect, as in Africa and Asia, or it has been succeeded by the ruin of all heavenly things, amidst anarchy and abominable revolutions."

In some countries the violence of heresy seemed, after a lapse of centuries, to have wasted itself out by excess of action. Then came a tributary stream, consisting in the infidel philosophy of the Free-thinkers, which succeeded elsewhere in supplying the torrent with a still increasing power of devastation, until at last, as our great poet seems prophetically to say,—

"Fortune hath plucked on France
To tread down fair respect of sovereignty;
And 'tis come to pass, that tractable obedience
Is a slave to each incensed will."

All that is hostile to the Catholic religion now makes factious feasts. The reeds that bend over the green pools within the forest last, as poets of this age say, longer than governments, and men are miserably constrained to "live with such as cannot rule, nor ever will be ruled;" as Shakespear describes the weakness of the enemy in which lies Troy's strength,

——— "The general 's disdained
By him one step below; he, by the next;
That next by him beneath; so every step,
Exampled by the first pace, that is sick
Of his superior, grows to an envious fever,
Of pale and bloodless emulation."

So nature herself, and the instinct of man led merely by natural motives, must look on all sides for a remedy to discover some power that can reach wills,—

——— οὐ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖ πόλις
στάσει νοσοῦσα καὶ κακοῖς βουλεύμασιν[†].

"The modern conservatives," as Balmes remarks, "in order to bridle the revolution, have only for arms such words as—the royal majesty, the authority of the government, the supremacy of the law, the necessity of order; but these are not sufficient

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[*] c. xi.

[†] Herc. Fur. 272.

where they have not a fixed point to which the first ring of the chain can be attached *." Having only such protection, society soon finds that, in regard to its own social conflagrations, those who with haste will make a mighty fire begin it with weak straws. And when men discover that the evil springs from the same source as that which yields the great antagonism to the Church, they cannot long find a difficulty in concluding that the true remedy should be sought for in those Catholic principles which give not only sanction but a supernatural force to all legitimate authority upon earth ; for while religious sentimentalists complain of defiling the purity of divine worship, by associating it with devoted loyalty for an earthly dynasty, the Catholic Church repeats the apostolic injunction, "to fear God and honour the king," which is all that any lover of the old reigning family of France desired, when they placed their lily in union with the cross. What St. Gregory Nazianzen says of the angels is true of a Catholic community, docile to its religious instructors—*οὐδὲν οὕτως ἴδιον, ὡς τὸ ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀστασίαστον*—"nothing so inherent in it as the being without strifes and seditions." St. Isidore represents disobedience as attempting to justify itself by saying, " I know that man ought to obey ; but it is to God he owes obedience, not to man. Provided you obey God, you may dismiss all scruples †." This is the sophistry of men who use the light of heaven to increase their own obscurity and perverseness ; for the Gentiles who wanted it did not, for all that, grope in such thick darkness. The Roman people condemned an accused person, merely because the consul Servilius stated, that meeting him on the narrow Via Laurentina he would not alight to let him pass. The judges would hear no further testimony, deeming that one who knew not to venerate princes was capable of any crime ‡. Catholicity ennobles indeed obedience, by making God its ultimate object ; but it denies that any one can obey God without obeying and respecting men who hold lawful authority, and repeats the sentence of the divine law without distinction in favour of any political party in the state, " Non eris criminator, nec susurro in populo §." To submit oneself to man for God's sake, or out of love to God, is indeed much harder, say spiritual writers, than to do it immediately to God, and consequently it is more meritorious ; for, though we acknowledge our superior to be God's substitute, yet we are not always convinced that his particular commands proceed from him, and not from passion or natural interests, and therefore we do not see the merit of obeying them ; but Catholicity enables

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* Le Protest. comparé au Cath. &c. c. 53.

† Combat of Christians, iv.

‡ Val. Max. lib. viii.

§ Levit. xix.

men to practise obedience from the heart, thereby ennobling the subject and giving security to rulers *. But let us hear the decrees collected in the ninth century: "If any laic should violate the oath which he has taken to his lord and king, and should have perversely disturbed his kingdom, and conspired against his life, let him be anathema, unless, by worthy satisfaction of penance, he shall make amends, that is, leave the world and lay aside his arms, enter a monastery, and there do penance all the days of his life, receiving however communion at his death †."

Again, what is more remarkable, "If any one, contrary to the apostolic precept, should contradict the royal power, and with a contumacious spirit resist its just and reasonable domination, let him be anathematized ‡." The old Catholic writer, deeply read in holy canons, who treats on the advantages of old age in the Christian political civil life, remarks, that "all who by libels, or defamatory writings, or prints, have done injury to the reputation of their neighbour, whether of private men or of their superiors, or of the public government, must make restitution if they would enjoy a quiet conscience in old age; and he cites theologians, who decide that of honour, as well as of money, restitution must be made §." So Thomas, duke of Gloucester, in 1397, being impeached in the reign of Richard II., made a public voluntary confession, saying, among other things, "In that I sclaundered my lord, I knowleche that I did evil and wickedly ||." On the Sunday, when the Church reads the Gospel of tribute to Cæsar, she seems to exceed even these limits; for the offertory is, "Recordare mei, Domine, omnipotentatui dominans; et da sermonem rectum in os meum, ut placeant verba mea in conspectu principis." And though, in an age of obedience and loyalty, the abbot Rupert, commenting on these words, adds, that is, in sight of the great king who takes account with his servants ¶; there can be no doubt that she uses them also in another sense, in accordance with the spirit of the obedience which the Gospel of the same day inculcates. So that her instruction may be said to be even more courtly than favourable to the views of those popular orators who now inveigh against all power, speak evil of dignities, and deem every public man a fair mark at which they can let fly their arrows, winged, they care not, whether with falsehood or with truth. On account of such instruction, certainly the wisdom of the Catholic Church

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* F. Baker, Sancta Sophia.

† Reg. Abb. Prum. de Eccles. Discip. lib. xii. 21.

‡ Id. lib. xv. 22.

§ Le Baron de Prelle; D. Thom. ii. 21. Q. 62.

|| State Trials, i. 131.

¶ De Divinis Officiis, lib. xii. 22.

suffers no eclipse, as the experience of all ages can, methinks, demonstrate; for—

> "The cause of majesty dies not alone; it is
> A massy wheel fixed on the summit
> Of a mount, to whose huge spokes
> Ten thousand lesser things are
> Morticed and adjoin'd; which, when it falls,
> Each small annexment, petty consequence,
> Attends the boisterous ruin"———

"Therefore we pray for kings," says Pope Innocent III., "in order that we may lead a quiet life; for as there are two lives, the celestial and the earthly, the one with which the spirit lives from God, the other with which the flesh lives from the spirit, and both lives are nourished that they may subsist—the celestial with spiritual, and the earthly with carnal food; so there are two powers—the ecclesiastical and the mundane, the one by which spirituals, the other by which carnal things are moderated; the one by clerks, the other by laics, that these may have leisure for heavenly things in regard to the soul, and those for earthly things in regard to the body; and for both powers we must pray *."

You cannot shake obedience in regard to either of these powers without undermining, or even directly attacking, the Catholic faith; for the true religion is inseparably wound up with obedience, which, by its influence, becomes synonymous with noble virtue, and therefore obligatory on all whose wills are otherwise so perfect that they need no law to force them. "The folk of the yle of Brayman said, 'Wee have a kyng, nought for to do justice, for he shalle fynde no forfete amonge us, but for to kepe noblesse, and for to schewe that wee ben obeyssant wee have a kyng.'" Sir John Maundeville, in this passage, only expresses the old Catholic sentiment, which admitted not the multiplied occasions for opposing it that modern politicians advocate. "Melior est subjecta servitus," says St. Isidore, "quam elata libertas, multi enim inveniuntur Deo libere servientes sub dominis constituti flagitiosis, qui etsi subjecti sunt illis corpore, prælati tamen sunt mente †." In short, to eradicate that respect for authority, without which all government is impossible, the principles of the Catholic religion must be uprooted; for, as a statesman of the present day has said, "Catholicism is the greatest school of respect which exists on earth," and, consequently, to supersede these principles is now the aim of many; for the revolution, well defined, is only an explosion of immortal pride,

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* P. Inn. III. de Sac. Alt. Mysterio, lib. iii. c. 5.

† S. Isid. de Sum. Bono, lib. iii. 47.

freed from all ties; and hence the fearful progress of the proselytism which has shaken to its very centre the whole fabric of European civilization. But, if the divine truth of Catholicity be conspicuous, from discovering that it ensures respect for the authority of rulers, men may be conducted to it with no less facility, in consequence of observing with admiration its comprehensive range, in accepting all forms of government, and, as far as depends upon it, in conferring upon them all the same advantages *." Rome sends her nuncios and her benedictions to all governments that are regular, and which do not openly and violently persecute religion, receiving ambassadors from republics and monarchies alike, and of these latter from a descendant of St. Louis with not more honour than from the throne which had for its founder that Albert of Brandebourg, grand master of the Teutonic order in 1525, whom even her supreme voice cannot disprove to have been an apostate and a traitor. In this respect some do not comprehend her immense love and her profound wisdom; but, excepting when the civil legislation of Europe required a contrary conduct, such has always been the political action of faith in regard to the passing kingdoms and governments of the world. The martyr Southwell, in his speech at Tyburn, expressed the sentiment of Catholic apostolic men in every age down to the present hour—" Neither my interest," he said, " in coming into England, nor practice in England, was to act any thing against the secular government. Hither I was sent by my lawful superiors to teach Christ's faith, and not to meddle with any temporal affairs. I never acted nor thought any hurt against the present protector. I had only a care to do my own obligation, and discharge my own duty in saving my own and other men's souls. This is that for which I die, O holy cause! and not for any treason against the laws. I die for Christ's law and for obeying the Church, which taught me that the sum of the only true Christian profession is to die." When Louis XVIII. wrote to all the bishops of France, charging them to forbid the clergy from making their submission to the existing government, a French priest wrote from Westphalia in these terms, to expose the fatal consequences to religion that would ensue from such an act in support of the Bourbon dynasty—" Before the revolution," he says, " the maxim of the court was, Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo. The object was to render the Church alien from the government. And so it was in reality. Insensibly the Church was no more of this world in France than it had been in the time of Pilate at Jerusalem. Whereas now the partisans of the ancient government, by a singular metamorphosis, desire that the kingdom of Jesus Christ should be of this

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* Freudenfeld, Hist. Universelle, 417.

world, for they wished that the priests, who are the ministers of his kingdom, should become the agents and ministers of the kingdom of the world ; to re-establish on their thrones the kings of this world, in spite of the world which had overthrown them. No, Sir, God will not bless this blind, egotistical, and irreligious policy. The religion of Christ will not be of this world in France if the government persevere in its blindness. But it will exist always in the world, independently of the world, in spite of the world, even in France—Dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum."

Nevertheless, it is perhaps true that some forms of government more than others are in accordance with Catholicity ; but, if it be so, the reason must be that some are more than others favourable to the growth of Christian virtues ; more in accordance too with nature, and with the universal laws of divine providence, in the government of the world ; so that, where any preference can be ascribed to the Catholic Church, there is only an additional issue laid open to conduct men to a recognition of the supreme fact, that her doctrine constitutes the central truth. The Catholic Church, beyond doubt, evinces affection at least, if not predilection, for a monarchy. Do you make this a crime? "Habes," as Cicero says, "quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum,—but so confessing, that all worthy of honour would do the same *." Kings and priests you would abolish—inhuman words—"Hæc nec hominis, nec ad hominem vox est."

Plato and Aristotle, Plutarch, and I know not how many other of the wisest of the ancients, all born under republics, give the preference to a monarchy. "O dii immortales!" exclaims the Roman orator, "quid interest inter mentes hominum et cogitationes?" Ah! yes, indeed, what a difference! Only think, in connexion with such names, of the French, or Italian, or Swiss demagogues at the present day, each of whom often so closely resembles, even in exterior, that insolent and uncouth Varius, whom Cicero calls "homo vastus et fœdus." Only think of the generation that admires or suffers such men, that is governed by such men. If Cicero could have foreseen the minds and thoughts of an age that would seek, by crimes and arms, to establish republics, after a Pagan mode, all over Europe, on the ruins of the monarchy which Christianity had founded, guided, and preserved through so many ages, I do not know whether, with all his eloquence, he would have found in human language exclamations adequate to express his indignation and his scorn.

"Oh, how comely it is, and how reviving,
To the spirits of just men long oppress'd,

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* Pro Q. Ligario.

When God into the hands of their deliverer
Puts invincible might ——
To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressors !"

These mighty of the earth and oppressors are not always kings : they may be men with nothing on their tongue but liberty and such sentences as that,—" Sacrosanctum esse nihil potest, nisi quod populus plebesve sanxisset *." They may be men who oppress even by theft, resembling him seen by Dante, who accounted for his being among the damned by saying,—

——" For that the sacristy by me
Was rifled of its goodly ornaments †."

These oppressors may be whole nations, like those which the poet Theopompus compared to the keepers of drinking houses. who, after first giving the sweets of liberty, end by giving vinegar—

" What more oft in nations aping liberty
Than to despise, or envy, or suspect
Whom God hath of his special favour raised
As their deliverer ? If he aught begin,
How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds ?"

You would revolutionize morals too ; you would model manners to your democratic government ? " Quid obest igitur," to let a Pagan answer you, " quin publica dementia sit existimanda summo consensu maximas virtutes, quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere ?" Is it to the Greek and Roman morals that you seek a return when you trample upon the Catechism ? Ought not such a question as this to strike dumb an ingenious and garrulous people ?—" Nonne ingeniosum et garrulum populum mutum atque elinguem hac postulatione reddidissent ?" Hear how he addresses these republicans,— " Marathon shines in Persian trophies. Your broken walls are raised up again with beauty—harum rerum auctores ubi vixerint, ubi jacent, responde. Theseus you suffer to be buried on a poor rock ; Miltiades to die in prison ; Cimon to wear his father's chains ; Themistocles to embrace the knees of his conquered enemy ; Solon, with Aristides and Phocion, to fly from their domestic hearths ; and all the while you have your law against ingratitude ! Read then that law, and though too late to recompense the worthy, at least testify shame for having wronged them —Tacent mutæ illorum umbræ, fati necessitate constrictæ : at immemores beneficiorum Athenas omnis lingua, sermone licenti

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* Pro C. Balbo.

† Hell. 24.

in reprehensionem soluta, non tacet *." But there is another point of view which may very well explain why democratic governments are less in accordance with the high interests which in all ages of the world, in some degree or other, recommend themselves to some men, and which Catholicity at all events pronounces to be supreme and without a rival: for, even supposing that they can be rendered illustrious by human virtues, it still remains a question whether they are not detrimental to the cultivation of the Christian and supernatural virtues which alone avail for eternity. Catholicism has such lessons as "Fuge publicum," yea even "Fuge et ipsos domesticos, secede ab amicis." And, after all, hear what says, not a Christian, not a Catholic, not a monk, but a Gentile and a Roman; hear Cicero—"Quid tibi vitandum præcipue existimem, quæris? Turbam. Ego certe confiteor imbecillitatem meam. Aliquid ex eo quod composui turbatur; aliquid ex his quæ fugavi redit; inimica multorum est conversatio. Nemo non aliquod nobis vitium aut commendat aut imprimit, aut nescientibus allinit. Sic est—non muto sententiam, Fuge multitudinem; fuge paucitatem; fuge etiam unum. Non invenio cum quo te malim esse quam tecum. Recede in teipsum, quantum potes †." Without exaggeration, without partiality, Catholicism cannot but be influenced by analogous views; and her consequent preference, in regard to forms of government, according as they are favourable or injurious to such habits, is, whatever your nine hundred senators may pronounce, not only explicable, but an additional title to win the admiration of the lovers of wisdom. There are evils in the train of kings, who denies it? but the very same evils exist, and often in a far worse manner, under a different form of government. Hobbes defines democracy to be "a republic of orators, interrupted now and then by the monarchy of a single orator." Is that a more pleasing image than the kingdom of St. Louis? It has been well said that the egotism of all is as odious as the individual egotism, and as contrary to divine love and order; but in this general abjection republics in modern times are found to end. Catholicity distinguishes the vices, which it can often remove, from the advantages, which it can often perpetuate, of a monarchy. "Tumoris elatio," as St. Gregory says, "non ordo potestatis, in crimine est. Potentiam enim Deus tribuit, elationem vero potentiæ malitia nostræ mentis invenit ‡." The Catholic religion, if really professed with faith, can indeed impart security and freedom, peace and order, to republics. "From the twelfth to the sixteenth century," says Malte-Brun, rather however, it must be confessed, pleading like an advocate for the

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* Val. Max. lib. v.

† De Officiis, lib. iii.

‡ Mor. xxiv. 16.

latter, "the cities of Italy, Germany, and Holland were the asylums of liberty, the centres of civilization, the cradles of art, the honour and the consolation of the world. What king will be able to cut as many canals, and raise as many mounds as the citizens of Holland? What capital will now be able to raise an aërial pyramid like that of Strasbourg? From the time that men first raised tombs, was there ever beheld any thing more affecting and religious than the Campo Santo of Pisa? The most generous and the most profound political ideas, have had their births in the republican cities of the middle ages *." There may be some truth in such observations, and it is a remarkable fact observed by Balmes, that "Protestantism was rejected by the most popular states of the sixteenth century, and could find no favour in Italy or Spain, where the people had most pre-eminence, the United Provinces being merely lost by their hostility to the government of Philip II †." But what becomes of the states which would adopt a popular government to imitate those of the middle ages, without ever considering whether it was necessary for them to have the same foundation in the Catholic faith, or at least in principles borrowed from it? Without morality springing from religion, no social amelioration is possible, and, as a poet well observes,—

> "Il est plus difficile et c'est un plus grand poids
> De relever les mœurs que d'abattre les rois."

An impassioned love for one or other form of government belongs not to Catholicity, though statesmen now may be repeating Gentile phrases, and saying "Quod volent denique homines existiment; nemini ego possum esse bene de republica merenti non amicus ‡." No one denies that a strictly popular government might display great virtue. Perhaps it is the people more than the privileged classes who respect the eternal principles which would secure order and freedom under every government. In ancient times in Rome, when the people had gained their victory over the Patricians, their revenge was to elect only Patricians for their next tribunes, content that their claim had been recognised as just: which makes Livy say, "Hanc modestiam æquitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tum populi universi fuit §." The sophists have an instinctive enemy in the people; and would have no success if they could not begin by subjecting them to their yoke; but, unfortunately, this is what they sometimes do, and then it is the sophists and not the people who govern; which rule constitutes the greatest

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* Malte-Brun, Traité de la Légitimité, considérée comme base du droit public de l'Europe Chrétienne. Paris, Gosselin, 1825.

† C. 60.

‡ Cicero de Provinciis.

§ Lib. iv. 6.

of all political and social calamities, if it be not a solecism to call any thing social when society ceases to exist. "Of a truth," says Plato, "this democratic form of government has the air of being the most beautiful of all; and this prodigious diversity of characters adds to its beauty, as embroidered flowers heighten the beauty of a cloth: at least, those who judge like women and children, from the singularity of an object, cannot fail to prefer it to others. It is a market where all sorts of governments are exposed: one has only to choose. Here certain criminals are treated with gentleness. Have you not observed, in states of this kind, how certain men who had been elsewhere condemned to death or exile remain there, and go forth in public with the train and the countenance of heroes? Enter a democratic state: you will hear on all sides that there is no condition preferable to it, and that, consequently, every man born free would prefer living in it than any where else. Here the love of liberty is carried to an excess, and every thing else treated with indifference. Children have no respect for their parents, and the parents even fear their own children. Masters are obliged to conciliate their disciples through fear of them, while they are mocked by them. The young regard themselves as on a level with the old, and scruple not to command them *:"—

"Here gentry title, wisdom
Cannot conclude, but by the yea and no
Of general ignorance:—it must omit
Real necessities, and give away the while
To unstable slightness; purpose so barr'd, it follows
Nothing is done to purpose."

"When one knows a thing to be good, and instead of loving hates it, and when," continues Plato, "one loves and cherishes what one knows to be bad and unjust, when there is this opposition between our sentiments of love and aversion, and the judgment of our reason, there is what I call the extreme ignorance, *ἀμαθίαν φημὶ εἶναι τὴν ἐσχάτην.* I call ignorance that disposition of soul which makes it revolt against judgment and reason, its legitimate masters; as in a state, when the people rebel against the laws and magistrates. Therefore, let it be an axiom, that no share in the government should be given to citizens who are in this kind of ignorance, however subtle reasoners they may be, and however skilled in what contributes to the brilliancy of talent or to give rapidity to mental operations: whereas the first places should be given to those who are in the opposite condition, however deficient they may be in these latter respects †." "States and

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* De Repub. lib. viii.

† De Legibus, lib. ii.

individuals are in the same condition in this respect. Wherever the good citizens gain the advantage over the bad, who are the majority, such a state may be said to be superior to itself, and such a victory deserves the greatest praise; but, where the multitude of the bad succeeds in subduing the minority of the good, then the state is inferior to itself[*]." This contrast to the revolutionary ideas of modern ages may lead us to conclude, that the ancient philosophy at least would not prefer them to Catholicity in the government of states. Morality itself feels the influence of such governments. The king Tullus was moved by the atrocity of the crime of Horatius killing his sister: the people attended only to the cause, and therefore acquitted him. We read in the Magnum Speculum, that the son of a charcoal-burner having been elected chief of "a provisional government" in a revolution, his father came, and, seeing him in royal robes, asked whether he knew him; to whom he replied, "Non cognosco meipsum, quomodo deberem te agnoscere[†]?" Nature, the force of conscience being very great, may for some brief space contend; but, as Dalila to Samson says,

——— "At length that grounded maxim,
So rife and celebrated in the mouths
Of wisest men, that to the public good
Private respects must yield, with grave authority
Took full possession, and prevail'd."

That there will be a progress, then, is highly probable. Every thing may soon be called in question. "Est enim petendum," as Cicero says, "ne oderitis ingenium, ne inimici sitis industriæ, ne humanitatem opprimendum, ne virtutem puniendam putetis[‡]." Oh! how often have such fears been grounded! Then—

"Virtue and wisdom, truth and liberty
Fly, to return not, until man shall know
That they alone can give the bliss,
Worthy a soul that claims
Its kindred with eternity."

Let but Catholicity revive in such a state, and there is a return to the eternal principles that have been ordained for the world. The popular voice will then exultingly proclaim its victory, as when far is heard in some lone dell the gathering of a wind among the woods.

"And he is fallen! they cry; he who did dwell
Like famine or the plague or aught more fell.
Who slaked his thirsting soul as from a well
Of blood and tears with ruin!"

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[*] De Legibus, lib. i.

[†] 331.

[‡] Pro Cor. Balbo.

And, after all, who knows not that even these communes of the middle ages participated in the crimes of which they accused others, when they did not even commit far greater? Enzio, king of Sardinia; Guillaume, marquis of Montferrat; Napoleon de la Tour, magistrate of Milan, were imprisoned in iron cages in the dungeons of Bologna, Alexandria, and Como; the two first dying in their barbarous prison. What do we observe if we turn to democratic governments in later times? Switzerland sunk in parts to such an abyss of governmental injustice, that thought can hardly follow her. Italy even, and France, shalt thou behold with that vain multitude who set their hope on some predicted progress of humanity, while they who lead their fortunes for more than ruined hopes are mourning. How shall we express the cruel hatred there? The cries resemble those of Polyphemus, blinded, groping for his unknown enemy:—

——— "O si quis referat mihi casus Ulyssem
Aut aliquem e sociis, in quem mea sæviat ira,
Viscera cujus edam, cujus viventia dextrâ
Membra meâ laniem, cujus mihi sanguis inundet
Guttur, et elisi trepident sub dentibus artus *."

The name of liberty is written up on all sides. A statue to represent liberty was set up over the gate of the abbey of Poissy, when that venerable foundation, on the site where St. Louis first drew breath, was sacrilegiously suppressed. That image pointed not to the Catholic Church, it is true, but we may say, in reference to it, with Cicero, "Libertatis signum posuisti magis ad ludibrium impudentiæ quam ad simulationem religionis †." Purity is another pretension of such governments; but the chiefs by their actions so proclaim themselves, that the most devoted advocates can only plead for them in words like those of St. Augustin, saying, "Nec rempublicam gerere criminosum est; sed ideo agere rem publicam, ut rem familiarem augeas potius, videtur esse damnabile ‡." There are abuses under kings; the Catholic Church needs no one to remind her of that fact. "Sed hoc non concedo," she will say to some who see only those abuses, "ut quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis §." Take what stand you will upon the superior advantages of one form of government over another, Catholicity proclaims the obligations of all, the abuses and perils incident to all, concluding still with the great voice which sounds on the second feria at matins—"Timeat Dominum omnis terra; ab eo autem commoveantur omnes inhabitantes orbem.

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* xiv. 5.

† Pro Domo suâ.

‡ St. August. de Verb. Dom. serm. xix.

§ Pro Ligario.

Dominus dissipat consilia gentium: reprobat autem cogitationes populorum, et reprobat consilium principum *."

All governments, therefore, being involved more or less in the same necessities, and subject to the same evils, let us proceed to remark how the Catholic Church supplies the most efficacious means of satisfying the wants, correcting the defects, and removing the perils, incident to all; and consequently to observe, what a magnificent avenue is found upon the present road, leading to the Catholic Church, as the centre of all political wisdom and of all social greatness.

We have seen that the first data of power and the respect of authority—without which no government under any form, and no civilized society can be possible—are supplied by Catholicism. The next question must be, Where can best be found the modifications essential to the constitution of a free and happy state? for power, without the means of controlling it, can only form a despotism which entails revolutions and future disorders, of which it is inadequate to remove the source. There are many types of government in the world—many systems respecting it; but, to whatever length we may protract our search, in the end we shall find that the maintenance of a nation in a free and happy state can never be so well provided for as when the principles of the Catholic faith and morality are sincerely adopted, both by its rulers and its subjects; and where Catholicism is applied to the solution of the political and social problems which men have vainly attempted in these times to solve by the doctrines of materialism and death.

In a dialogue between Alcuin and Pepin the second son of Charlemagne, to the question, what is the liberty of man? the reply is, "Innocence." You say that this may pass in the schools, but that it has no practical bearing upon human society. I do not see on what ground you rest your opinion. You think to have accomplished wonders when you write up every where, Liberty and public order: but what is material without intellectual liberty?—exemption from the control of laws, without deliverance from the slavery of the passions? What is public without private order?—order in the state without order in the family? order in the administration without order in the minds and hearts of individuals? "Let us not mistake licence for liberty," says an old Spanish historian, "ea namque sola ac vera libertas censenda est quæ homines facit domitas habere libidines; suis quietè potiri; eadem prudenter tueri; ab eis quæ propria non sunt mentes et manus abstinere †." Where ends the liberty invoked by men like the luxurious Gentiles, who used to say,

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* Ps. xxxii.

† Hieron. Blanca, Aragonensium Rer. Comment.

"Quid opus libertate, si volentibus luxu perire non licet*?" "Cicero," says Balmes, "gives an admirable definition of liberty, saying that it consists in being the slave of the law. The liberty of the mind consists in being the slave of truth; and the liberty of the will in being the slave of virtue. Change this order, and you destroy liberty. Take away the law, you enthrone force; take away truth, you enthrone error; take away virtue, you enthrone vice†." The divorce supposed between unity in faith and political liberty is an invention of the irreligious philosophy of the last century. The Catholic faith would maintain in nations and in men the right use of reason; and

> "True liberty always with right reason
> Dwells, and from her hath no dividual being."

The Catholic faith would maintain a general and individual sense f justice; and as St. Bruno, following the Gentile, says,—"nihil est liberale quod non idem justum‡." "Catholicism declares," as Balmes observes, "that the civil power is not to absorb the individual and the family, so as to destroy their respective spheres in which they can act, otherwise than as an integral part of society. This is one of the differences between the Christian and the Pagan civilization. The latter has sacrificed the individual and the family to the social unity; the former has combined their interests, so that they should not embarrass each other§."

The world has witnessed men opposed to Catholicism, who profess to love liberty, working at their especial work, intent on realizing their ideas; and invariably it has found them not only the accomplices, but the promoters, of arbitrary measures. Is it a question of raising or upholding the dignity of man? they lower it. Of respecting the inviolability of conscience? they give it up to the caprices of the administration. "After fifty years of revolution," says a French writer, "it is still the same passions, the same prejudices, the same malevolence, and the same ignorance. If there be in the ranks of the left or of the centre any real lover of liberty, we observe that he is obliged to detach himself from his party, and take shelter in the liberal and monarchal doctrines of the Catholic orators. What is this but a proclamation of the truth of the Catholic doctrine? Such defections attest that liberty will be never elsewhere."

The institution of legislative and administrative assemblies as a guarantee of political and social happiness points significantly to the Catholic Church as to the source of their security and

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* Val. Max. lib. ii. † c. 38.

‡ S. Brunonis Epist. i. Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. 14.

§ c. 54.

highest wisdom. Before Protestantism arose, the parliament, under some name or other, existed in every Christian country, as a council for temporal affairs, under the chief of the state, in the same manner as the College of Canons was established for spiritual matters, under the bishop. "All the essentials of representative government existed," as Balmes remarks, "in the old Catholic states before the reform. All had thrones surrounded by assemblies, which deliberated on laws and taxes. What has political liberty gained by Protestantism? What charge can it advance against Catholicism, which spread every where fueros, privileges, liberties, cortes, states-general, parliaments, juries*. Catholicism, indeed, proposed and established such assemblies, not as a means of expressing the general will at any moment, according to the sophist's notion, but as an instrument by means of which men may consult reason and good sense, which without it would be dispersed through the nation†." So in 1319, when an ordinance of the king of France declared that there should be no more prelates in parliament, for the reason that their presence could not be always obtained, Bernardi says that the edict had no effect, on account of the necessity felt of having the aid of the superior intelligence of the clergy‡. Catholicism involves that prudence of government which rejects experiments with a dangerous force that cannot be easily controlled, so that it seems to dictate words like

"Neve tuum fallax animum fiducia tangat,
Quod——Tibi sit, qui carcere fortes
Contineat ventos, et, cum velit, æquora placet.
Cum semel emissi tenuerunt æquora venti,
Nil illis vetitum est §."

At the coronation, the pontiff prays to Almighty God, "that the king may have peaceful and faithful nobles; that they may love charity, abstain from cupidity, speak justice, and guard truth." It is true also that the Catholic ideal of a Christian deliberative assembly presents a great contrast to that adopted by the world in opposition to it. We can form some notion of what the Catholic Church would wish respecting parliaments, from the rules which she lays down in regard to assemblies immediately under her own control. Thus the prayer for the opening of a synod might be proposed to all. In the Ordo ad Synodum she invokes the Almighty in these words:—"Esto solus et suggestor et effector judiciorum nostrorum—non nos patiaris perturbatores esse justitiæ, qui summe diligis æquitatem—let not ignorance, or favour, or acceptance of persons, bend us, but join us to thee

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* c. 61.
† c. 61.
‡ Hist. du Droit.
§ Met. xi. 11.

inseparably—ut simus in te unum, et in nullo deviemus à vero—so that from the temporal assembly we may pass to that of the eternal felicity *." When votes are given by men whose consciences are not by faith directed, there is occasion often to desire the ancient metamorphoses, when, black balls only being thrown into the fatal urn, the examiners, on opening it, found exactly the reverse—

> "Omnibus e nigro color est mutatus in album †."

But, if Catholic rules had been observed, the need of such a change would have been obviated; for hear the prescriptions of the Church on occasions that present, at all events, a strong analogy. "In regard to an election," says a holy rule, "let each one consider what an injury he will inflict on his soul, and on his neighbour, if he should give a vote with an unjust mind, contrary to equity. Therefore, laying aside all affection and passion, and having regard only to God and his glory, and the salvation of souls, and the common utility, with a sincere eye let him vote ‡."

Observe again the terms of the bull of Pope John XXII. to the order of Grandmont: "Exhortamur omnes ipsos et singulos per misericordiam Dei, eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ injungentes, quod prece, pretio, affectione qualibet, promissionibus et petitionibus quibuscumque penitus et omnino submotis, sinceris sanctis et puris mentibus, et sine aliqua pravitate, solum Deum habendo præ oculis, ad electionem procedatur §." Elections being thus made, observe, by referring to similar sources, how Catholicity would direct the form and spirit of the assembly: "When a chapter is to be held," says the rule above quoted, "holy psalms and supplications are to be sung—the Mitte nobis, Domine, auxilium de sancto, the Emitte Spiritum tuum, the prayer Deus qui errantibus, and that Deus qui corda fidelium. Then all are to go to confession, and receive the holy communion on the following day. When they assemble to deliberate, every one in speaking is to study brevity as much as possible—Studeat brevitati, ea tantum quæ ad rem faciunt exprimens, frivolis aut impertinentibus omissis. Nemo suam sententiam pertinaciter defendat, sed plurium opinioni facile consentiat—absit inter eos superflua locutio: quidquid ibi tractatur de substantialibus sit, et impertinentia omnia longè arceantur. Never must haughty angry words be heard, nor holy charity offended by sign or voice. No murmuring must be heard, and no one must be angry at a decision contrary to his opinion; but patiently, and with a

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* Pont. Rom.

† xv. 1.

‡ Constitut. Erem. Camald. pars ii. c. 3.

§ Levesque, Annales Ordin. Grandimontis, cent. iii.

quiet mind, let him bear what pleases others." "Nothing that passes in the assembly should be disclosed if it tends to promote discord, or if any hatred or scandal can arise from it; and whoever makes such a disclosure is to fast three days on bread and water*." We may even remark, that, according to another rule, "each solemn assembly is to be commenced by the obit of the members deceased since the last meeting, the De profundis being recited by all †." Let it not be said, that to propose such examples is to overstrain analogies, and to invoke things impossible in the political order; for, in point of fact, to a certain degree, similar rules were observed in those ancient Catholic secular assemblies which legislated under kings for Europe. The solemn invocation of divine aid at a previous mass of the Holy Ghost, which only the last revolutionists of France abolished; a careful observance of customs, which originated in charity for the souls of deceased brethren; a religious and almost ecclesiastical tone in the deliberations—nothing of all this was found impossible in former times, as every one conversant with the history of the old parliaments will be ready to acknowledge. Groulart, speaking in the parliament of Rouen, says, "that on examining the old registers of their company, he found that his predecessors, the De Selve's, the Marcillac's, the Banquemare's, and the Saint-Anthot's, used to commence their speeches with some text of holy Scripture, to give more authority to their words; and he resolved to follow their example, the occasion on which he had to speak being serious, and the word of man not sufficient ‡." Gloucester, not before his choler was overblown with walking once about the quadrangle, would come to talk with lords of commonwealth affairs. Legislators, in Catholic ages, did not deliberate amidst scenes of recrimination and uproar that would seem ridiculous to a mob of the lowest citizens. They rather decided like hermits of Camaldali in chapter, without long speeches—"sed consideratis considerandis §." Remove Catholicity, or at least the habits partly inherited from it, and then the sheer execration of a prostituted eloquence, can direct men to the truth which has in aversion that abuse: "Nam quid est tam inhumanum, quam eloquentiam, à naturâ ad salutem hominum et ad conservationem datam, ad bonorum pestem perniciemque convertere ||?" In Catholic times again, local administration was not excluded by an immense central assembly, resembling rather the promiscuous gathering of a multitude than a deliberative

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* Constitut. Erem. Camald. in Reg. pars ii. c. 3.

† Constitut. Fratrum Ord. Prædic.

‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, tom. iv. 206.

§ Constit. Erem. Ord. Cam. c. 25.

|| Cicero de Off. ii. 14.

senate. "Your fraternity ought to know," says Ives de Chartres, "quod quæque negocia in locis in quibus orta sunt, primum sunt discutienda *." Indeed the canons say, "Peregrina judicia generali sanctione prohibemus," which may easily be applied to the system of central administration. Catholicism may not perhaps secure in all cases an organization of power such as modern states approve of, as most favourable to liberty; but "la verite des choses," says the author of the Menagier de Paris, "et le prouffit sont mieulx trouvés par peu de gens sages et parlans par raison que par multitude de gens ou chascun brait et crie à sa voulenté; et telle multitude n'est point honneste †." "Right and justice are less well administered by a senate composed of fifty-six members than by one sole senator." So said Pope Innocent III. to the revolted Roman citizens, in the act, however, of yielding to their demands through a love of peace; so that no constitutionalist need now cry out against him, though the truth of his assertion, as his historian remarks, was soon afterwards verified ‡. Undoubtedly, however, in this latter case the circumstances were peculiar, as the temporal government of the holy see must always suffer from events as others; and the words are only cited to indicate how little the wisdom of ancient times would have approved of reviving such assemblies as these, consisting of some hundred members, where, as Anacharsis said of the Greeks, "the wise give counsel, and the fools decide." There every one may observe how the majority, or the minority that by violence can awe the rest, will hear no reason urged against their will, crying out, as in the old comedy,—

οὐκ ἀκουσόμεσθα
δῆτα—ἐξολοίμην, ἢν ἀκούσω.

While the sorrowful and disappointed spectators may lament, in the same poet's words, saying,—

δεινὸν γὰρ οὕτως ὀμφακίαν πεφυκέναι
τὸν θυμὸν ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε βάλλειν καὶ βοᾶν,
ἐθέλειν τ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον §.

To Pyrrhus the Roman sènate appeared an assembly of kings. If nations in modern times desire that their legislative assemblies should retain true moral dignity, it will not be by flying to the antipodes, in regard to Catholicity, that they will accomplish their purpose. Should any one doubt it, let him only look around and judge. Let him read about, for I will not invite him to look at, the men who, unable to rule over themselves, pretend to rule

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* Ivon. Carnot, epist. 76.

† D. i. a. 9.

‡ Hurter, lib. xi.

§ Aristoph. Achar. 352.

others, each of whom, as they proclaim, is to suppose himself chief, his own emperor, his own pope—"cujus tanta est non insolentia (nam id quidem vulgare vitium est), sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem sed ne vultum quidem liberum possit ferre cujusquam [*]." The men now professing to serve best their country, whose firm hope, as Sidonius Apollinaris says, "lies in the movement of things, and who love with less doubt things that are doubtful [†]," are described by a keen observer as "an illiberal and turbulent faction, styling itself the national democracy, consisting of men who attack religion in the priest, education in the father of the family, domesticity in the wife—men who have only appetites without rules, licence without a bridle, belief without an object, ideas without a plan, doctrines without unity, minds without logic—men as incapable of commanding as of obeying; who have never had either the intelligence of government, or the love of the people, or the knowledge of freedom [‡]." "They cannot agree," adds this writer, "among themselves, as to who is or who is not a good citizen;" they can agree however to choose for representative the boldest speaker, whom some god, as Homer says, must have taught—

Ὑψαγόρην τ,' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέως ἀγορεύειν—

some one who resembles that Seronatus, described by Sidonius Apollinaris, of whom he says, "The Catiline of our age—aperte invidit, abjecte fingit, serviliter superbit, indicit ut dominus, exigit ut tyrannus, addicit ut judex, calumniatur ut barbarus—ab avaritiâ jejunus, à cupiditate terribilis, à vanitate crudelis—in consessu jocatur, in convivio prædicat [§]." Such is the oppressor of the French, of the Swiss, of the Romans. "I have seen a man," says the tragedian, "bold of tongue, who encouraged the sailors to brave a storm, but who, in the storm, hid himself under a cloak, and would let himself be trampled on:"—

ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσσῃ θρασὺν,
ναύταις ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν,
ᾧ φθέγμ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν εὗρες, ἡνίκ' ἐν κακῷ
χειμῶνος εἴχετ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἵματος κρυβεὶς
πατεῖν παρεῖχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων [||].

Let him, in fine, who doubts, contrast the Catholic type and realization of a senate with that which results from the success of those who would substitute another; and he will find that he has to choose between peace and order, and dignity and justice, on the one hand, and on the other, such a state of things, with

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[*] Cicero, Epist. x. 1.
[†] Epist. v. 7.
[‡] Timon.
[§] Epist. lib. ii. 1.
[||] Soph. Ajax, 1142.

regard to government, that each intelligent observer may use the words of the ancient philosopher in allusion to it, and say, "I am now no longer to be moved—nihil est enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus. Itaque ex republica quoniam nihil jam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher nescio."

But leaving states that have abolished, at the instigation of a fierce democracy, the ancient Catholic provisions for ensuring dignity in government, thence to the famous halls and orators repair, where ancient classic eloquence, and a high secular morality, uninfluenced by Catholicity, are thought to furnish excellent and secure provision for the wise and prudent government of states—

> "Mota manus procerum est; et, quid facundia posset
> Tum patuit *."

And yet, and yet, even after these potent, grave, and reverent senators have spoken,—noble, honourable, right honourable, orators as they are, each so proud of their "Hear him!" proud too of their vote and learning,—each, as Pope complimented Murray, so sure to receive the applause of all listeners—

> "Graced as they are with all the power of words,
> So known, so honour'd at the House of Lords,"—

is there, I would faintly ask, no want to be detected that Catholicism would remove? is there no signal there pointing to the Catholic Church as constituting the true source of legislative wisdom, public morality, wise government? is there no substitute to be remembered or imagined for the policy of opposition, that "in the commonwealth would by contraries execute all things?" For, to speak with candour and without prejudice, avoiding the least reference to your ill-meaning politician lords, say, what is the sum of good produced by all this resistless eloquence, which wields at will the opinion, perhaps not so much of wise, thoughtful men, as of the public? There be that can rule a state as well as he that sleeps—senators that can discourse as amply and unnecessarily as in the old pagan time, when there was a law in Rome which prohibited orators from speaking longer than two hours †. The Romans struck their empty brass when the moon was eclipsed; and these men, in the darkness caused by intercepting the rays of that great luminary which it figuratively represents, seem determined eagerly to imitate them; though sometimes, as when they speak against dignities, which they sacrilegiously outrage, or like slave-drivers on questions that affect the manufacturing population, a literal revival of the

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* Met. xiii.

† Cicero de Finibus, lib. iv. 1.

usage perhaps would be more desirable. There are other interests deeply affecting mankind—yes, and the happiness and greatness of our especial country too, besides those which minds that are held fast in materialism, and Paganism under a new name, opine. "Ita contendere de republica," said Cicero, "ut id defendas, quod esse optimum sentias, et fortium virorum et magnorum hominum semper putavi *." But if there be no soul, no possibility of awakening a corresponding sentiment in the assembly, when elevated truth is opposed to the doctrines of spiritual death, by men nobly and heroically inspired, would it not be better that they should deliver their orations before the sea waves on the strand, than in any of such "houses?" What examples can modern parliamentary history supply "de vi eloquentiæ," if the cause defended by it be any interest affecting the soul of nations? Where the influence of Catholicism is unfelt, the voice of a Montalembert would probably not change a single vote. After hearing him, one might repeat what the giant says of his Philistine lords, "This answer, be assured, will not content them;" but let some half-witted contradictor (if Catholic in name so much the better), noted only for blaspheming what he knows not, cast up in their presence, like a discoloured sea, the foam of his confusions, proposing some foreign pestilent example of men walking on the way of Cain, despising dominations, and blaspheming majesty—and there is the speech you may be sure that will content them. The Romans could cite their orators, at whose words, as at those of Valerius, anger, consternation, and arms ceased. It may be doubted whether the aid supplied to governments and nations by the parliamentary eloquence of times and nations opposed to Catholicity has consisted in producing such effects. Here will be reformers; but not like Cleomenes of Sparta, who was the first to practise what he advised, and to place in common all that he possessed; here will be popular orators; but not like Tiberius Gracchus, who, seeing that Octavius was interested personally in the rejection of the law he was proposing for the people, offered to make him compensation, out of his own estates, for the loss he might sustain in land, if he would cease his opposition. Parliaments without Catholicism would offer no great security for the freedom of the whole community, and of each individual, if the institutions and principles of Catholicism had not previously existed and taken deep root, accepted either in point of fact or respected by traditionary habits. As independent securities they can be hardly depended upon. At all events, be it ever so admirable, "the constitutional mechanism," as a representative of the anti-Catholic

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* Pro Cor. Balbo.

philosophy observes, "only agrees with temperate zones; beyond thirty degrees of heat, charters melt or explode."

——— "Where is the fame
Which the vain-glorious revolutionists of earth
Seek to eternize? Oh! the faintest sound
From time's light footfall, the minutest wave
That swells the flood of ages, whelms in nothing
The unsubstantial bubble."

Whatever provisions you can establish, experience proves that all governments may become oppressive and destructive of freedom, whether the form be popular or monarchal, and, what is no less true, all spirits are enslaved which serve things evil, let them be fair outside as they may. "Real tyranny," says an historian, "consists not in the arbitrary direction of great interests by one person, but in the destruction, through a love for abstract speculations, of the institutions and customs which are incarnate in daily life *." "Rome will ever be for freedom," says a bold admonisher of the French constitutional government, "while you are for imposing on her the task of fulfilling the desires of your despotism."

Monarchal governments, on the contrary, may favour every popular interest and protect liberty. Plato, indeed, goes so far as to use these words: "A monarchy and a tyranny are the two states opposed to each other; the first is the best, the second the worst of all. As there is no state more wretched than that which obeys a tyrant, so there is none more happy than that which is governed by a king †." But, if you exclude the principles which realize what with the Gentile sage was but a dream, the opposition that he supposes is in danger of being utterly lost, a monarchy itself becoming as oppressive perhaps as the worst democratic power. That a kingly government as an independent source of order, that is without faith, should offer a sufficient guarantee for the political and social interests of mankind, is an error against which the lessons of history ought to guard every one, though there may still be men willing to repeat, in allusion to some type of sovereignty, the words addressed to Cæsar Domitian,—

"Rerum certa salus, terrarum gloria, Cæsar,
Sospite quo magnos credimus esse deos.

The distinction was divinely announced when the Israelites were told that they should serve Sesac, king of Egypt. "Because they are humbled I will not destroy them by the hand of Sesac; but yet they shall serve him, that they may know the difference

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* Hurter, Geschichte Inn. III.

† De Repub. lib. ix.

between my service and the service of a kingdom of the earth*." The abbot Rupertus shows the difference between the latter and the Catholic monarchy existing in the Church, the kingdom of God as he conceived, and in great part beheld it. "The Babylonian, Persian, Median, and Grecian kingdoms were," he says, "figuratively shewn under the form of ferocious beasts, as being full of cruelty, bestially raging through the world, drunken with blood, and trampling down the saints of Almighty God. But the kingdom of God, being a kingdom of peace, of charity and brotherhood, an empire of piety, of truth, justice, and meekness, was differently represented where the prophet beheld thrones placed, and the ancient of days sitting, and the Son of Man coming to him, and all the people, and tribes, and languages serving him †." On earth are perpetuated, in some part or other, the kingdoms which are called the heads of the ancient dragon—"the Babylonian kingdom, like a lion abounding in two evils, pride and luxury; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, like a bear on account of cruelty; the kingdom of the Macedonians, like a leopard, through the variety of the Greeks constituting it, and the severity of Alexander impiously raging against the Jews; the kingdom of the Romans, like a terrible beast, having no resemblance to any other, surpassing all others in power and ferocity; and, in fine, the kingdom of Antichrist. represented under the face of a man—the man of sin and son of perdition ‡: for on earth are always kingdoms, worthy of being regarded as heads of the ancient dragon, on account of the greatness of their iniquity, members of the devil, full of a diabolic spirit, hating the word of God §." On one side the world beholds the bestial ferocity of Babylon, on the other the vision of peace, including governments that participate in its spirit. "Truly," he adds, "these kingdoms reign not in God; nay, what are called their kingdoms are not so much kingdoms as certain and public robberies ‖." "In this world, indeed," as St. Isidore says, "men are more venerated for having temporal power than for reverence of sanctity ¶."

Catholicity alone would abolish government by mere force and violence; for it judges, that the abuse of greatness is when it disjoins remorse from power, and it remarks the desire of its divine author, who, as St. Peter Chrysologus says, "vult caritate magis quam potestate regnare **." Without its supernatural assistance, force or violence is invoked by men as the sole effica-

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* 2 Paralip. c. 12.

† Rup. Abb. Tuitiensis de Victoriâ Verbi Dei, lib. i. Præf.

‡ Id. lib. iv. 1.

§ Id. lib. vi. 1.

‖ Id. lib. vii. 12.

¶ D. Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 63.

** Serm. 69.

cious protection of government, since, following in this the demons, by strength,

> "They measure all, of other excellence
> Not emulous, nor care who them excel."

Material force, enthroned and worshipped, all is deemed right that power wills; for, as the old poet says, "shame dwells far from that cruel goddess,"—

αἰδώς γ' ἀποικεῖ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω *.

With these views you have men like Prince Edward, afterwards the first king of that name, described by Mathieu Paris as a sanguinary tyrant in his youth, of whom he relates this anecdote, that once, as he was travelling in peace through a friendly district, a young man met him, and, without any fault, Edward ordered him to have one ear cut off and one eye put out, which was executed †. "Your black princes may then turn out to be princes of darkness, alias devils," as the Clown with Shakespear says. The devil is, in fact, king over all the sons of pride, as St. Bruno observes, "Ipse est rex super omnes filios superbiæ. Consider only," adds the holy man, "what a king that must be! how strong, how powerful, with whom fights blessed Michael the archangel ‡." "We fear wild beasts and princes," says the rule of St. Basil, "knowing that from them proceeds what appertains to the destruction of life §." Lacydes, being invited to court, replied, that one should see princes from a distance. Even without a divine dream, perhaps the Magi would not have returned to Herod's court; for, O my God, what would it be to see such a king in his glory, after entering the house of Bethlehem, where they had found the child with Mary his mother? Truly it is not marvellous to read, that after seeing them they returned by another way to their country. Gloriabatur quasi potens—not being truly so, says St. Anthony of Padua, of such a king; for God alone is powerful, and He alone is good ||. St. Ambrose, commenting on the passage which relates that the devil showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the earth, says, "Bene in momento temporis regna terrena demonstrantur; non enim tam conspectûs celeritas indicatur quam caducæ fragilitas potestatis exprimitur. In momento enim cuncta illa prætereunt, et sæpe honor seculi abiit antequam venerit."

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* Herc. Furens, 557. † Ad ann. 1256.

‡ S. Brun. Exposit. de Confessoribus.

§ Regula S. Basilii cxxxviii.

|| B. Anton. Pad. Interpret. Mystica in lib. Judith.

Such is the vanity of the kingdoms of the earth, says Antonio de Escobar[*].

Our old Catholic historians are deeply impressed with these sentiments. "King Henry being dead," says one of them, "and carried to Rouen, where his entrails were buried, the rest of the body was variously cut, sewed up in leather, and embalmed, to prevent the intolerable odour which issued from it. The man who cut off the head to take out the brains, though he had his own head enveloped in linen, died in consequence of the smell. This was the last man whom King Henry killed. This king, having killed many while he lived, managed thus, even when dead, to kill a man. His body, while it lay in the church before it was transported to Reading in England, caused a horrible infection. Oh, see and ponder this end of so much pride and glory! learn to despise what ends thus—what is annihilated thus[†]." "Henry II.," says Mathieu Paris, "falling sick at Chinon, cursed the day he was born. Three days after, he expired in the most fearful despair, during the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul[‡]." St. Hugues, abbot of Cluny, conversing with St. Anselm at Marcigny, the former said, that King William Rufus had that night been led before the judgment of God and condemned[§].

Kingly government, administered with mere natural views of human interest, may be said to hold up a solemn hand pointing to that Church which knows how to sanctify and secure power. Look at "the dignity and height of fortune, the high imperial type of this earth's glory." What elevated interest sways it? Earth is all, and all is for earth. Louis XI., who in the French monarchy stands as an exception, in a secret letter to the general of his army, alluding to the project of adding the province of Burgundy to his kingdom, says, "Je n'ay autre paradis en mon imagination que celui-là. J'ay plus grand faim de parler à vous pour y trouver remède que je n'eus jamais à nul confesseur pour le salut de mon ame[||]." Certainly, "such hopes, views, and principles of earth as these, wherein the mere natural king welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till, like that fen-born serpent, the ideal of such government, be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word in the Church." And this may serve to describe to us, in part, what

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[*] In Evang. Com. tom. vi. 86.

[†] Joan. Mon. Ganf. Ducis N. Hist.

[‡] Ad ann. 1189.

[§] Id. ad ann. 1100.

[||] Michel. Hist. de France, tom. vi. 462.

monarchy without Catholicism and faith hath been, and what, if it stand, it is likely to be towards every nation.

"Since you are so moved with pity for the world," said a divine voice to Marina de Escobar, "you should admonish the governors of the republic to correct, as far as they can, the errors of those committed to their charge;" and she says that she replied, all troubled and dismayed, "O my God and my Lord, how canst thou desire me to do this, when thou knowest that those who preside over the republic are ill-disposed, and that they care not for the things which are proclaimed in thy name—nay, that they would do exactly the contrary? The same thing will now again happen, and what I shall say to them they will hold for mere impertinence, and thus only a fresh occasion will be given to them of irritating thy justice*!" Iniquity against God, spoliation in regard to their neighbour, infirmity with respect to themselves, such are the attendants on this independent power. God's wrong is most of all. Then what Brother Giles used to say is seen verified in the heights—"When there is the wish to do evil, no advice is asked; but, when any thing good is proposed, then the opinion of many persons must be taken †." These many are not wanting to the king, who his lobbies fill with tendance, and rain sacrificial whisperings in his ear. The legists we met so lately are among them. The jurisconsults of Frederic Barbarossa assembled at Roncaglia declare, that to him belongs the empire of the whole world, and that too, others will conclude, without distinctions, crying, with John of England,—

"What earthly name to interrogatories
Can task the free breath of a sacred king?"—

though the simple affirmation of kings will not suffice here, as legists would pretend. Power, thus uncontrolled, will hear of no limits which a higher majesty forbids it to pass—

"Cæsar in urbe suâ Deus est ‡."

The gentle and honourable, the scholar and the poet, will have no difficulties. It is Virgil, the representative of whatever is sweet and amiable in nature, who says,—

"In medio mihi Cæsar erit, templumque tenebit §."

Even after the creation of a new world, illumined by the light

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* Vit. Ven. Virg. Mar. p. ii. lib. ii. c. 8.

† Bucchius, Lib. Aureus Conform. Vitæ Francisci ad Vitam J. C. 69.

‡ Ovid. Met. xv. § Georg. iii. 16.

of Christ, power under every form, whether popular or monarchical, seeks to cling to this position in the centre of all political combinations, and even in the intelligence and heart of man. Governments, let their form be what they may, are not always converted, though Christian, and even Catholic in name; and Rupertus notices an early instance, which explains the phenomenon. "The confession of Cyrus," says he, "was merely with a view to temporal benefits. He thought of no other. He followed not the legitimate order by beginning with an accusation of himself, and then seeking mercy; but, as one of the princes of this world, he magnified his own tongue, and recognised no other Lord but himself*." "Ipse est Deus qui est in Hierusalem," said Cyrus; and yet to him the Lord said, "Non cognovisti me." How so? Because he turned a deaf ear to that verse, "Extra me non est Deus;" for he continued to serve creatures rather than the Creator; he retained himself for himself while he offered to God †. What examples of this ignorance had the early Church! The Emperor Constance takes side with the Arians—the Emperor Julian with the Pagans; other emperors with the Jews and Iconoclasts, later Cæsars with schismatics, who drive Popes into exile. Others again assume spiritual functions; others call in the aid of Mahometans; others pronounce for the Protestants; and then declare themselves the heads under Christ of the true Christian religion. "Such are the lessons of old age," says the Baron de Prelle, in his work on its advantages ‡. Now, to behold the Lion of the secular power, as the Abbot Joachim styles the imperial or royal state, raging without faith, and presenting itself in opposition to the one holy Catholic Church, furnishes a spectacle methinks which is not calculated to shut out all view of the divine centre from which wise, and free, and happy government must emanate. Those German emperors, Henry I. and Frederic II., were so terrible as persecutors of the Church, that the Abbot Joachim reckons them among the heads of the ancient serpent §. "Secular princes," he says, "infidel princes, heresiarchs, and the philosophers of this world, contend against the preachers of the Church. The lion is the king of the republic from the wood of secular warfare; the wolf is the Saracen people ||." These two were even at times disposed to act in concert. "It is clearly demonstrated," said the Pope on one occasion, "that this emperor, Frederic II., prefers the Saracen law to our faith, for he imitates their practices ¶." "The Saracens," says Mathieu

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* Rup. Abb. de Victoriâ Verbi Dei, lib. vii. 26.

† Id. vii. 28.

‡ 98.

§ Abbot Joach. in Jeremiam.

|| Id. c. i.

¶ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1229.

Paris, "in the pay of the emperor, devastated Albano and its churches, carried off vestments, chalices, books, and whatever could be turned to profit[*]." Full details of this connexion, which could be traced even in England under John, are given in the celebrated letter of Pope Innocent IV., ascribed to the Cardinal Reynier, against Frederic II. In another place the Abbot Joachim says, "The emperor, like a wild boar from the wood, comes with the Germans to lay waste the vineyard, that is, to destroy the liberty of the Church[†]." The bull of Pope Clement IV., in the archives of Mount Cassino, repeats the words of Innocent IV. against Frederic II., designating him as a precursor of Antichrist in Sicily, and states in conclusion, that after long feigning himself a friend,—"de benignitatis mansuetudine quam blando prius mentiebatur affectu, nihil omnino retinens et de virtute divina non tremuit, humanamque parvi pendit potentiam, et honorem ecclesiæ, ac libertatem hominum dicti regni tirannide furibunda depressit[‡]." Pope Gregory said of him, that throughout his empire no one could move either hand or foot without his orders. He incarcerated, tortured, threw into the sea, and put to death in a detestable manner the Catholic prelates who were proceeding to Rome to the general council. Amongst others, the Archbishop of Besançon was his victim. In one prison, near Naples, more than sixty prelates, legates, and cardinals, were thrown[§]. He hanged and tortured to death many friars, both minors and preachers, for being found with letters against himself[||]. Yes, let us hear Pope Gregory denouncing the despotism of this emperor, whom the prime minister of England, at the present day, extols in parliament as the founder of Sicilian freedom. "In Sicily," says the contemporary pontiff, "he made the poor suffer the same afflictions as the great; and we believe that such excesses excite the wrath of God. Further, by his unheard-of cruelties the knights and other men of Sicily are reduced to the fortune of slaves. The majority of the Sicilians have not of their own left so much as straw to lie upon, or the commonest food to satisfy their hunger. The cries of the unhappy inhabitants having reached the ears of the Church, we could not, without wounding our conscience, pass over such acts in silence, without warning him to repair such crimes and become a new man. Moreover, he had hoped to sully the purity of the Church by the filth of temporal goods, in order to lay his hand on spiritual things; and he has tried to destroy the wall of impartiality in making overtures to it. Now he has thrown off the cloak; but,

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[*] Ad ann. 1243.

[†] In Jer. c. ii.

[‡] Ap. D. Gattula, Hist. Abb. Cassinens. 717.

[§] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1241.

[||] Ad ann. 1243.

though one should weep for the perdition of a man, there is one thing for which we should rejoice and give thanks to God—it is, that the Lord has wished that the shadow of death should not conceal any longer him who boasts of being named the precursor of Antichrist, and that he should by his own letters pronounce a heresy, and thereby acknowledge the perversity of which he is accused."

William of Newbury beholds the imperial action in a light not more favourable. "The German emperor," he says, "adhered to the schism; for the emperor, through private motives, once given to a reprobate sense, and thinking it derogatory to the imperial majesty to be conquered by reason, deferred for a long time to give the palm to manifest truth *." Above all, the legists and despots of the earth hold it derogatory for their king to acknowledge in practice the supremacy of Rome. This, say they, is direct against the canon-laws of our foundation—we must not suffer it. The French lords, in 1247, conspiring against the Pope, their charter contained these words, which explain the views of secular power in all ages, as full of ignorance in regard to history as of malice against human freedom and the Church of God. "As the superstition of the clergy," say they, "not considering that the kingdom of France has been converted from Paganism to the Catholic faith by wars and by the blood of many under Charlemagne and other princes, at first seduced us by a semblance of humility, coming to us as foxes; since, on the ruins even of the castles founded by us, clerks so absorb the jurisdiction of the secular princes, that the sons of serfs judge by their laws the sons of free men, whereas, according to the laws of the first conquerors, they ought rather to be judged by us; since we ought not to derogate from the customs of our predecessors; since they place us in a worse condition than the Gentiles, since it is said, Render to Cæsar what is Cæsar's,—We all, grandees of the kingdom, considering that the kingdom has been acquired, not by the written law, or by the arrogance of clerks, but by the sweat of warriors, have decreed as follows †." Protestantism, by the tongue of Milton, cannot improve upon such language. "Of courtesy now let any man tell me," says this champion of the new and old heresies, "if they draw to themselves a temporal strength and power out of Cæsar's dominion, is not Cæsar's empire thereby diminished? If they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and stedfast height rests upon the unmovable foundations of justice and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependence of subsisting, or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelatry,

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* Rer. Anglic. lib. i. c. 9.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1247.

which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards? Let these be swept away, and then mark what nourishing and cordial restorements to the state will follow. The king shall sit without an old disturber, a daily incroacher and intruder; shall rid his kingdom of a strong sequestered and collateral power; a confronting mitre, whose potent wealth and wakeful ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousy. Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honour to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillanimous upstarts." Protestantism, in this respect, was a mere succumbing to the carnal and impious views of worldly rulers, which had been manifested thus long before it was thought of, and which continued to be partially adopted even by those governments which were not prepared to follow it on other ground.

France protected and assisted the rebellious barons against Alexander VI. She took part with the schismatical cardinals under Julius II., and proclaimed the deposition of the Pope. She never ceased disturbing the peace of Italy. Louis XII. caused a medal to be struck with the words, "I will destroy Babylon," meaning Rome. After the revival of Paganism in the fifteenth century, governments were not slow to take advantage of the new philosophers, "weeping," as Bunsen would have them still, "over the vanished virtue and heroic greatness of the Scipios and Catos, and over the imbecility and sloth of their descendants." For once they would speak in Latin, if they could find an occasion to quote Cicero, saying that there is nothing now to care about at Rome—"ita sunt omnia debilitata, jam prope et extincta*."

In Spain the Bourbons guarded, as a sacred deposit, the traditions of resistance to Rome of Ferdinand the Catholic, Charles V., and Philip II.; and these jealousies, as Balmes remarks, acquired the greatest force under Charles III. and Charles IV., when the last vestiges were effaced of the ancient liberties of Castille, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia †. But no human interests ever suffered detriment when the victory was yielded to the word of God rather than to that of man; and in this sense we may truly say with Pliny, "that it was better for states to be conquered by Rome than to conquer Rome—Ita est profecto: multis fortuna parcit in pœnam ‡." Parliaments and legists, in name Catholic, had, it is true, gone far, combining with such kings to meet the Protestant views of government, before the formal and avowed establishment of the one sole undivided power which heresy effected in the state. In the time of Louis of Bavaria, the princes of the empire, in an

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* Epist. ii. 5. † c. 54. ‡ Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. 1.

imperial constitution published against the Pope, maintained, quod imperialis dignitas et potestas est immediatè à Deo solo. This Louis was excommunicated, however, by John XXII. and Clement VI., the last of whom he thought to depose, but was himself deposed, when he was succeeded by Charles IV. Catholic statesmen have well shown, that it was Protestantism which, by sowing its dissolving doctrines, rendered necessary a stronger power in the state than Catholicity deemed requisite, and which removed all the natural barriers against absolutism which it had maintained; for it was not sufficient as a protection for the people that the sovereign, like the heathen emperor, Augustus, should have a temple of Apollo within his palace. The oratories of such Cæsars were no guarantee. The greatest increase of the royal power in Europe dates, as Balmes observes, from the rise of Protestantism in England, from Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—in France, from the termination of the war of the Huguenots; in Sweden, from Gustavus and Charles XI., in 1680; in Denmark, from the reign of Frederic III., who became absolute in 1669; in Germany, from the foundation of Prussia as an absolute monarchy; and this coincidence, he adds, is not the only proof of there being a secret connexion between Protestantism and absolute forms of government*.

The doctrine of the divine right, according to the Catholic doctors, as taught publicly under Philip II. in Spain, by Suarez, Concina, and the Compendium of Salamanca, when defending the Catholic faith, adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores, reconciles submission with the dignity of man. Bellarmin taught the same, and King James I. complained bitterly of him in consequence.

"Protestantism," says Balmes, "has split alternately upon the two opposite extremes of despotism and licence, seeking order by sacrificing freedom, and freedom by renouncing order. It was in England that appeared the most exaggerated notions of the divine right, and the supreme authority of the civil power." Hobbes ascribed boundless power to the king; and all this flowed from the fatal doctrine of the spiritual authority. In Spain, it was not till the reign of Charles III., when the modern philosophy first came into it, that the language of this court assumed the despotic tone †.

An old writer says, that all the kings of England who have ever reigned were descended from a fantastic mother: Nam et reges qui usque hodie regnant in Britannia, quæ nunc Anglia dicitur, de matre fantastica descendisse referuntur ‡. If this be true, one can only say, that when heresy arose, the hereditary folly developed itself to an extent before unparalleled, and, worse

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* c. 62.

† c. 51.

‡ Cæsar Heist. lib. iii. c. 12.

still, infected the whole nation. Then each king resembled Alcinous ruling the Phæacians—

Φαιήκεσσιν ἄνασσε, θεοῦ δ' ὥς δῆμος ἄκουεν [*].

for, though it pains them now to be reminded of it, the national language respecting Elizabeth, Edward VI., and even Henry VIII. himself, for at least two hundred years, would lead any one to conclude, that their Protestant sovereigns entered into the concrete of their religion nearly as much as any names that they learned to repeat from the Bible, so that they acted like the Athenians, decreeing that portraits of the two kings, Antinus and Demetrius, should be embroidered amongst those of the gods on the veil of Minerva. Certainly, be the origin of such monarchs what it might be, it was a fantastic delusion to look back with fondness from the Catholic to the Gentile type of kingly rule, when a king could be saluted as supreme—

"Id quoque, quod vivam, munus habere Dei [†],"

and to regard as an extravagance of zeal, and a crime justly punishable, the act of men who read with reverence, while rejecting the idea of mob government, the words intended for more than English ears, which pronounced their queen to be hereticam et hereticorum fautricem, and cut her off from the unity of the body of Christ by sentence of excommunication and anathema, with all her adherents.

"For the sake of the public happiness," says the decree of Dromoclides, proposing that the answer of the oracle of Apollo should be sought from the mouth of the tyrant Demetrius, "the people will order that an Athenian be named to go to the God saviour, and, after having sacrificed, to ask Demetrius, saviour, what measures should be adopted, and the people will conform to the reply of the oracle [‡]"—the very expression to imply the divinity of kings which occurs in an edict of Arcadius, who prohibited certain practices, sine cœlesti oraculo, that is, without his permission. The fact undoubtedly was, that in Sweden, Denmark, and England, the people showed the same obedience to their sovereigns, and proceeded very nearly to a literal imitation of the Athenians, when they decreed that "the wishes of Demetrius should ever be regarded holy towards the gods and just towards men." So monarchies or republics, once emancipated from the Catholic faith, are led by degrees to confer at length a whole and undivided supremacy on themselves, thus, as far as lies in them, dethroning God, and ascribing the victory to

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[*] vii. 11.

[†] Trist. i.

[‡] Plut. Life of Demet.

their own word. "The tail of heresy," says Holzhauser, the holy curate of Bingen, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, "is the false political doctrine, pseudopoliticismus, which, first broached by Machiavel and Bodin, ends in the divinisation of the state and in atheism." But let us, with a view to the threefold evil attached to them, survey the kingdoms of the world existing without an open and legalized renouncement of the spiritual power of the Holy See, yet acting by the natural impulse of power without the control of divine faith. "It is beautiful," says the Abbot Rupertus, "to consider the tyranny and ferocity of the kingdoms of the world represented in the sacred text by ferocious beasts, and the dignity, meekness, and piety of the kingdom of God in the form of the Ancient of Days sitting upon a throne, and the Son of man coming to him, and all the nations serving him *." How often might the holy Church adopt the poet's words, and say, in relation to the despots whom she sought to inspire with sentiments of justice,—

"The scepter'd wretch then from that solitude
I drew, and, of his change compassionate,
With words of sadness soothed his rugged mood;
But he, while pride and fear held deep debate,
With sullen guile of ill-dissembled hate
Glared on me as a toothless snake might glare."

The kings and people of the earth envy, dread, wrong, and persecute the spiritual government—having many to applaud,

—— "Though brutish that contest and foul
When reason hath to deal with force,
And strength from truth divided, and from just
Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
And ignominy."

The axes and the hammers of the state, as a late poet says, make daily inroads on the carved work of the holy Church,—

—— "Whose course will on
The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs
Of more strong link asunder, than can ever
Appear in your impediment."

The house of Lancaster at first declared, that all it asked from the Church was her prayers. The sovereigns of modern times, who plunder and suppress the Catholic institutions of Europe, cannot give any proof of having made a progress in the language of deception since the time of the impious Frederic II., who says, "Always our intention was to provide that clerks of every

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* De Victoriâ Verbi Dei, lib. vii. 11.

order, and above all the chief, should persevere to the end in the way trodden by the primitive Church, leading an apostolic life, imitating the humility of the Lord *." "At least," he says, writing while on his march to Rome to our Henry III., "we are not tortured by any remorse of conscience †." Well might the Pope address letters to the English king, "lest the purity of the royal innocence should be defiled by the fallacious words of a deceiver :" but the mask is, sooner or later, thrown to the winds. "Behold," says the Abbot Rupertus, "how Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. With what arms did these great hosts contend ? Michael and his angels with arms of celestial virtue ; but they of the dragon with the laws of kings, with the decrees of emperors, with the fury of Gentiles, with the cruel hands of executioners ‡." Monarchy, that opposes the Catholic Church and its institutions, is not characterized by gentleness, and the desire of mild government. At the death of Henry II., whom Henry VIII. was so anxious to avenge, at Canterbury, the prisons were filled with a multitude of persons expecting trial or punishment, who were delivered by order of his successor, Richard I. § After granting the forest charter, which contains the words "We will also and command formally that the English Church be free," Mathieu Paris says that John grew furious, "he gnashed his teeth, he rolled his haggard eyes ; then he seized, like a madman, sticks and pieces of wood, which he gnawed and ground with his teeth, and snapped in pieces after gnawing them ||." "Isti sunt," to use the words of Hincmar of Rheims, "qui per violentiam et potentatum suum, post contemptum omnipotentis Dei, contemnunt etiam Ecclesiam Dei, contemnunt sacerdotes Dei ; nullam excommunicationis Christi reverentiam habentes, who conferred this power on the rulers of his Church, saying, Quod si ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut Ethnicus ¶." The Count of Bretagne ordered to be thrown into the same grave alive a priest, who had refused to give ecclesiastical burial to a usurer,—who had died excommunicated. His widow had complained, like so many of the French during the late reign, and the consequence was an order of the government to punish the priest thus **. The secular has obligations that may be styled infinite to the spiritual power ; but the intelligent observation practised by the latter, and the control which is the necessary object of its action, often, in the estimation of the former, cancel the debt. The state, thus divided

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1245. † Ad ann. 1239.

‡ De Vict. Verbi Dei, lib. xiii. c. 5.

§ Guiliel. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. iv. c. 1. || Ad ann. 1215.

¶ Hinc. Rhem. Epist. lib. i. c. 7.

** Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1229.

from its best friend, imagines that it is competent to rule men alone, and it says, like Richard,—

> —— "None are for me that look into me
> With considerate eyes."

The eye of the holy see, of the bishop, of the priest, is troublesome—the rebuke is always the same ;—

> "Thou art he that troublest Israel."

Or, so ancient is the type, as Lycus says to the generous chorus,—

> *ὑμεῖς δὲ πρέσβεις ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐναντίοι*
> *γνώμαισιν ὄντες*
> ——— *μεμνήσεσθε δὲ*
> *δοῦλοι γεγῶτες τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος*[*].

Besides, there is an instinct of antagonism in the mere earthly ruler, which directs him to behold an enemy in the representative of Christ. "His constancy is an offence, an outrage against me," cries the Moorish king, speaking of his prisoner, Don Ferdinand, in the "Constant Prince" of Calderon: "his patience irritates me. His obedience is pride." Then are organized systems of education, systems of elections, systems of administration, which are calculated to undermine the faith of the people. The wild boars are let loose into the vineyard, and new codes of forest laws concocted, forbidding, as a grave offence, to do any thing "to the detriment of the beasts of our lord the king." Do you speak of the holy see before such powers? You will hear words that recall the accusation brought before Artaxerxes against Jerusalem,—"Hierusalem civitatem rebellem et pessimam." "The kingdom of the Macedonians," says Rupertus, "was represented under the form of a panther and a goat, to signify its bestial ferocity and lust. What libidinous and cruel ferocity did it exhibit, raging against the people and temple of God[†]!" Yet an imputation of violence the state abhors. In Switzerland, at the present day, its language to the Catholic prelates is that of Ebroin to his victim, St. Leger: "You have great confidence in the sublimity of your words. But whom do you expect to persuade? You fancy that you will be a martyr: that is what renders you so valiant. But you shall wait long enough for it. You will in vain desire that honour." The world soon forgets the persecutions which it inflicts upon the faithful. Rutebeuf, though, had reason to say, "Sainte Eglise se plaint ; ce n'est mie mervelle Cascuns de guerroier contre li

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[*] Herc. Fur. 250.

[†] De Vict. Verbi Dei, lib. viii. 29.

s'aparelle." There are few generations that have not experienced what the hermit of the Alps found one day inscribed upon his Psalter, "The zealous will be troubled, and will pray; and the tranquillity of many will be in tears *." But there is another aspect of secular government, in relation to the Catholic Church, which may be said to supply a signal, pointing to the divine character of that society which alone on earth proclaims the necessity of yielding supreme homage to the Almighty; perpetuating the great lesson in the Bible, where we read that when Ozias was made strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he neglected the Lord his God; and going into the temple of the Lord, he had a mind to burn incense upon the altar of incense: and that the priests withstood him, saying, "It doth not belong to thee, Ozias, to burn incense to the Lord, but to the priests, who are consecrated for the ministry: go out of the sanctuary; do not despise: for this thing shall not be accounted to thy glory by the Lord God †." There is no open persecution by violence, but there is a secret hostility by the assumption of power which does not belong to man. There is the minister of the government against worship, as the great Bishop of Langres styled "le ministre des cultes," in the year 1845, saying, "It is a question whether in fact and in practice, instead of being the minister, that is, the temporal agent of matters relative to worship, he be not the minister of the government against worship." There is the council of state too, which required to be reminded by the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, that "when the council of state has spoken, the cause is not finished." "The confession and praise of Nabuchodonoser," says the Abbot Rupertus, "was not acceptable, by reason of his pride and vanity with which they were contaminated. For how did he proclaim to all people the praise of God? "Signa apud me fecit Deus excelsus," he says. "Placuit ergo mihi prædicare signa ejus." It pleased him, forsooth! But as God will not receive praise unless from a humble spirit, so was it just that his arrogant style should be reproved, and also his falsehood; for not with him had God made signs, but against him; since he was his enemy, and the enemy of his servants ‡. There have been strange claims by the secular power ere now, if all could be seen recalled. "The Book of Royal Capitulars," says Ives de Chartres, writing to Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, "ordains that priests and people must receive to communion all whom the king receives to grace, and permits to sit at his table: I declare then to your fraternity, that if an occasion should arise when I am called on to admit to reconciliation an impenitent person, what I am determined to say openly to him is this:—'I

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1227.

† 2 Paralip. ch. 26.

‡ De Vict. Verbi Dei, lib. vi. 23.

will not deceive you. I permit you, at your own peril, to enter this visible Church; but it exceeds my power to open the door of the heavenly kingdom to you on such a reconciliation; and, therefore, you must understand that I absolve you as far as remission belongs to us: and this I say, not laying down a law, but thinking that, to avoid greater perils, something must be conceded to the necessity of the times *.'" When Pope Gregory IX. granted to the monks of Winchester formal sanction to refuse to elect for bishop any foreigner who was odious to the nation, according to the king's wish, "the king," says Mathieu Paris, "was greatly exasperated †." The fifty articles which the prelates of England exposed in 1257, prove the tyrannical claims and persecution of the crown. And it is worthy of remark how the adversaries of the Catholic Church recognized the justice of her argument in opposing them, when, by a strange transposition, it suited their purposes to make use of it in arrogating her authority for themselves. Thus they say—"For the magistrate in person of a nursing father to make the Church his mere ward, as always in minority—the Church, to whom he ought, as a magistrate, 'to bow down with his face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of her feet ‡;' her to subject to his political drifts or conceived opinions, by mastering her revenue; and so by his examinant committees to circumscribe her free elections of ministers, is neither just nor pious; no honour done to the Church, but a plain dishonour: and upon her sets, in effect, another head, and, which is most monstrous, a carnal on a spiritual, a political head on an ecclesiastical body; which at length, by such heterogeneal, such incestuous conjunction, would transform her into a beast of many heads and many horns. For if the Church be of all societies the holiest on earth, and so to be reverenced by the magistrate; not to trust her with her own belief and integrity, and therefore not with the keeping, at least with the disposing, of what revenue shall be found justly and lawfully her own, is to count the Church not a holy congregation, but a pack of giddy or dishonest persons, to be ruled by civil power in sacred affairs." And then, conscious of their own infirmity in temptation, they add—"Independence and state-hire in religion can never consist long or certainly together. For magistrates, at one time or other, will pay none but such whom by their committees of examination they find conformable to their interests and opinions: and hirelings will soon frame themselves to that interest, and those opinions which they see best pleasing to their paymasters; and to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth §." The enemies of the Jews sent a letter to King Darius, saying,

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* Ivon Carnot, epist. 171. † Ad ann. 1239. ‡ Isa. xlix. 23.

§ How to Remove Hirelings out of the Church.

"Let there be search made in the king's library in Babylon, whether there be such a volume as that containing a decree of King Cyrus, that the house of God in Jerusalem should be rebuilt." Alas! in our royal libraries it will be easier to find penal statutes and prohibitions against monasteries and holy men than a decree emanating from the wish of kings, or their advisers, to edify the Church of God. Heretical sovereigns of course set an example. "This Queen Elizabeth," says Pierre Mathieu, "has always feared and dreaded the spirit of the Jesuits; and, as she has never suffered them in her kingdom, so it was not her fault if they were not banished from all other places as well as England. Finding that, at the recommendation of the King of France, and by the solicitude of Germini, his ambassador, the grand seignor had allowed them to settle at Pera, near Constantinople, she made every effort to dissuade him, saying that they were seditious and dangerous men *." Infidelity, under another name, in later times, has endeavoured to make amends, proceeding so far as to adopt the old Pagan argument, insinuating "quod Christi prædicatio atque doctrina reipublicæ moribus nulla ex parte conveniat," though not openly perhaps, like them, alleging, for instance, that the rendering good for evil would confound all things †.

Religious orders approved of by the Church, even the very life of the Church, which necessarily entails new developments to suit the wants of society in each generation, are found not to agree with governmental maxims and measures of state. Saladin, on taking Jerusalem, allowed the brothers of the Hospital of St. John to continue tending the sick till they died or recovered ‡; but Christian and Catholic governments have shown less tolerance to those who tended the spiritual maladies of their subjects. Philip II. even, notwithstanding all his religious zeal, for the sole reason that he personally disliked new orders, would not admit the Capuchins within his dominions, nor receive to his favour the Jesuits, though in this respect he stood alone among the members of his family §. In later times the policy of emperors, in regard to the Church, has been in accordance with the insanity of those democratic societies which thought to leave no throne in Europe standing. "Cry," said the angel to Zacharia, "thus saith the Lord, 'Zelatus sum Hierusalem et Syon zelo magno et ira magna ego irascor super gentes opulentas,'—that is," adds Rupertus, "the nations and kingdoms which oppressed his people."

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* Hist. de Hen. IV.

† S. August. Epist. v. ad Marcellinum.

‡ Guil. Neub. Rer. Aug. lib. iii. 17.

§ Pierre Mathieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. 1.

There is something so mysterious, something in such close conformity with the treatment which the Lord of all received from governors and people, in the conduct which the nations and kingdoms of the earth have held towards the Catholic Church, that it is impossible not to be impressed, on observing it, with a conviction that she owes her persecution as her honours to the divinity of her origin. And here I would beseech indulgence, if, struck with the aptness of an image, I venture to recall a fable which has moved to tears of compassion many former generations of men who are now, we may believe, reaping the recompense awarded to those who have wept for the sorrows of the oppressed. The mystery of Griseldis, which so profoundly acted upon the hearts of men in former ages, might be proposed, I would humbly suggest, as a kind of apologue, to teach, not alone the perfection of patience in general, but the history of the Holy Spouse of God in her relation with the prince of this world, who seems, more peculiarly in later times, to follow towards her the conduct which that deep affecting tale ascribes to the Marquis, who had once assumed the office of legitimate protector to her whom he so cruelly cast off. For at first he espouses her, forming, what the pride of the world might term, an unnatural alliance, raising her, as it would say, to riches and the height of earthly splendour; then, after she had produced lovely children, which the institutions and manners of Christian civilization might so well represent, he deprives her of them, either actually sending them to a far country, or pretending that they belong not to her; finally he chases her, in ignominy and nakedness, from her own palaces. The old French narrative, relating her dignity in misfortune, is unequalled in beauty and simplicity, "Elle partit du palais," it says of Griseldis, "nus piés, le chief descouvert, accompaignée de barons et de chevaliers, de dames et de damoiselles qui plouroient et regardoient ses grans vertus, loyaulté et merveilleuse bonté et patience; chascun plouroit, mais elle n'en ejecta une seule larme"—and thus she came to her father's house; and because he had always doubted the issue of such an alliance, she being born poor, and wedded to so proud a lord, he dressed her again in her former clothes, which had been carefully kept for her; and Griseldis disdained not to wear again her poor old robe, and she would not for all that accuse the Marquis, or say that he was in fault; and then her escort of lords and ladies, leaving her, returned to the palace weeping and sighing, and not able to speak through sorrow. "Grisilidis du tout en tout fut contente; oublieuse et nonchalant des grans aises et des grans richesses qu'elle avoit eues et des grans services, révérences et obéissances que l'on lui avoit faictes, se tint avec son père à petite vie, comme devant, povre d'esprit et en très grant humilité vers ses povres amies et

anciennes voisines de son père, et vesquit de moult humble conversation." Then, as the Marquis sends for her son and daughter, and proclaims his intention of marrying the latter, so the State declares that it is about to espouse liberty and fraternity, and conceals the fact that their true mother is the Catholic Church. The Church too is ordered to receive these guests, her own offspring, with honours. "They must be received as they merit," it says to her; "and, since you have certain experience of my palace and people, and of our manners, and that no one else can conduct the ceremony so well, I order you to return to me in order to receive them, 'et que nonobstant ton petit habit et ta povre robe tu preignes la cure de tout mon fait.' The Church, like Grisilidis, replies, "Monseigneur, non tant seulement voulentiers, mais de très bon cuer, tout ce que je pouvray à ton plaisir feray, ne n'en seray jamais lasse ne traveillée." Then, like a poor servant, she takes in her hand the vile instruments of household care, and ordains the general work, appointing how all is to be done to receive her whom the Marquis is about to espouse; so her benedictions and her prayers are given, and even the symbols of her enemies consecrated, because they can be interpreted as representing truth, "Et combien que Griseldis fust en povre estat et en l'abit d'une povre ancelle, si sembloit-il bien à tous ceulx qui la véoient qu'elle fust une femme de très grant honneur et de merveilleuse prudence." The next day the daughter and her brother arrived, and all the company were filled with admiration at their beauty, and some said, "Le Marquis change sagement son marriage, car ceste espouse est plus tendre et plus noble que n'est la fille Jehannicola." Grisilidis, who heard all, and was present at all, bore all with sweetness, and kneeling down saluted her own children humbly, and all were astonished how such good manners could be found in one clothed in so poor a habit. But the mother could not be satiated with looking on her son and daughter; for she cannot be satiated with loving true liberty and true fraternity, and was never weary praising them. Then the Marquis called her, saying aloud, "What do you think of this my new spouse? Is she not fair and honourable?" Grisilidis replied aloud, kneeling, "Certainly, my lord, she is the fairest and most honourable that I ever knew. With her you may lead a happy life, and that is what I desire in sincere good faith. Only, my lord, I do pray and admonish you not to treat her in the same strange manner that you have treated the other; for she is young and come from far, tenderly nourished, and she cannot suffer as the other suffered, as I think." The story goes on to relate, what the world may perhaps never witness, how the proud lord, who after espousing had so ungratefully and barbarously cast her off, comes forward publicly to acknowledge her unrivalled perfection, saying, "O Griseldis, I can no longer re-

fuse to bear witness to thy true faith and loyalty, and to the love thou hast for me, and thy true humility—tu seule es mon espouse, ne autre espouse jamais je n'aray."—This one is thy own daughter; this other is thy son; liberty and fraternity are the offspring of the Catholic Church—lesquels deux enfans estoient perdus par l'opinion de nos subjects. Then all the people rejoiced and praised the happy mother, and no one could be satiated regarding her great virtues*. Such is the fable and the application. Perhaps an apology for the latter was unnecessary. There is nothing to be expected from descending to philosophic discussions with some generations; to express their injustice the nursery tale is best.

But we have to consider the signal pointing to the Catholic Church, arising out of the conduct of the secular power hostile to her influence, in regard to the mere temporal interests of those subject to it, which can be often so rightly qualified as spoliation and profligacy. The description of the evils under the Roman imperial government, though Christian in name, is not more calculated to impress us with a conviction of the all-sufficiency of organized power to promote political and social happiness, than of its fidelity in rendering what is due to God for the spiritual welfare of the world. "With the Romans," says Salvien, "the many are proscribed by the few, to whom public exaction is private gain, and this, not the highest men alone but also the lowest who attend on them. For where are cities and villages in which there are not as many tyrants as men depending on the court—public robbers who devour widows and orphans, the poor, and the saints? These latter they indeed count as widows and orphans, because they are either unwilling to defend themselves through regard for their profession, or through their simplicity and humility they are unable. No one of these is safe; and, in fact, such is our miserable state, that unless a man is wicked he cannot be safe†. Local evils are not enough, new envoys arrive sent by the highest, who are commended by the illustrious few to the destruction of the many. New gifts are decreed for these. The powerful decree that the poor should pay. The grace of the rich determines that the crowd of the wretched should perish; for they do not feel in any respect what they decree. But you will say that such envoys must be honoured. Well, let those who are first in decreeing be also first in conferring; let those who give what is ours give also what is their own‡." The book of God alludes to such a state of things in the words, "This is a people that is robbed and wasted. They are made a prey; and there is none

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* Le Ménagier de Paris, D. i. a. 6.

† Salv. de Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. 4.

‡ Id. v. 17.

that saith, Restore *." "The holy man is perished out of the earth; the evil of their hands they call good; the prince requireth and the judge is for giving. He that is best among them is as a brier; and he that is righteous as the thorn of the hedge †." Without the Catholic faith neither justice nor restitution will be secured to all under any government. Queen Elizabeth, after her "noble saying," that she wished her advocates to be not so much, pro domina regina as pro domina veritate, felt such astonishment and rage on one occasion, at the idea of a Catholic escaping by law when her authority was sufficient to ensure his death, that she fainted, and had to be recalled to her senses by vinegar and other remedies: and so lately as in the reign of George IV., when the French monarchy made restitution to the English Catholics for the colleges and funds that the revolution had seized from them, the government we are bound to honour seems not to have understood much better the principle of restitution; for on that occasion, taking advantage of a forgotten penal law, it in a very quiet manner transferred the sum to its own treasury, leaving to die of a broken heart the too-confiding prelate whom it had decoyed into an avowal of the holy purposes for which the money was intended. As for munificence and charity to their poorer subjects, all we can say of governments, under an influence opposed to Catholicism, is, that there is no great danger of their liberality becoming a disease, as Epicharmes said. In this age of the world power will adopt for itself a type that Pagan antiquity could far surpass. We shall hear but those rude rough words, which argue that these men in authority never knew even the Cyrus of Xenophon or Agesilaus—official answers, which seem to prove that the balance of justice must be sought for in the Zodiaque, whither it was carried from earth during the iron age, as poets tell us, and that "there is nothing they can swear so as to be believed, since they can swear by nothing that they have not wronged." Then is theology discussed by politicians, and such maxims taught as seek to justify oppression; for it is argued that states collectively, not having to expect a future judgment, and having existence only in this world, may and ought to act otherwise than single men. At all events there is clear proof that neither laws nor institutions can restrain them,—

——— "Fit murmur in urbe,
Spretarumque agitur legum reus ‡."

Then wars and spoliation follow. As Dante says of those whom

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* Isai.

† Micheas, vii.

‡ Ovid. Met. xv.

an old Catholic writer styles "princes of the blood of the people, oppressors, and pensionists,"—

> "Many of life they reave, themselves of worth
> And goodly estimation ——
> Leaving such havoc, that in thousand years
> It spreads not to prime lustihood again *."

"William Rufus had seized England by the throat," says Mathieu Paris, "and had not allowed it to breathe. All that could please God, and those who loved God, displeased the king, and those who loved the king. There was not a tear shed upon his grave †. Those hawks of the king, Henry II.," he says elsewhere, "in flattering him, hoped to pillage the state as well as the Church." Then too was this Christian land most rich in Jews, who controlled all states and all things. Now they waft loans from Indies to the Pole. Then they had sovereigns to employ them, who in their need sped to bring succour to the bankrupt tyrant. The first act of Richard I., on landing in England, was to hasten to Winchester to weigh, and make an inventory of his father's treasures, which amounted to more than nine hundred thousand pounds of gold and silver, besides jewels. This was not enough. "Though he exercised cruelties on the Jews which were not approved of," says Mathieu Paris, "by enlightened men, he acted like one of them himself, putting up every thing to sale, his violent exactions displeasing clergy and people alike." St. Bridget heard a divine voice saying, "The princes of the world at present do not attend to what I suffered; nor do they consider the places of my nativity and passion; for they are less like rulers than men having a place set apart for wild beasts and other animals, where they may hunt with dogs and horns. Thus do these princes more willingly behold earthly delights than the memorials of my death and passion. It is a great burden to be a king and a great honour, but a great utility. Kingdoms now are not kingdoms, but puerile play, and insanity, and robbery; for, as a robber seeks times and modes for laying in wait that he may obtain lucre without detection, so do kings now seek inventions in order to exalt their races and amass money, and load their subjects with cunningly devised impositions ‡." Cæsar gets money where he loses hearts. St. Bridget sees a reprobate king in judgment, who says, "I consulted learned men on the state of my kingdom, who said to me that I must retain my power and crown; and that for that purpose I must devise new modes of gaining wealth; that the ancient treasury returns were not adequate to

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* Purg. 14.

† Ad ann. 1100.

‡ S. Birgit. Revelat. lib. vii. c. 16.

the government and defence of the kingdom. Therefore I devised new kinds of taxes and fraudulent impositions, to the great injury of many of the citizens of the kingdom, and also of innocent merchants and travellers, in which I intended to persevere till my death; although my conscience said that they were against God and all public honesty and justice *." Cæsar of Heisterbach hears and records the punishment reserved for guilty ministers, in whose escort after death, he says, in his quaint style, "that he likes not to remark the presence of demons and the absence of holy angels. Not many years since," he says, "a certain rich minister of the Duke of Bavaria died. By night the castle in which his wife lay was shaken, as if with an earthquake, and lo, the door of her chamber opened, and a certain black horrible giant dragged in her husband by his hair, who in answer to her inquiries told her that he had been eternally condemned, and that his alms availed him nought, having been made through vain glory. He then vanished amidst groans and dismal sounds, through the air, and this vision was most celebrated in Bavaria, as Gerbard, one of the monks, told me, who had been formerly a canon at Ratisbon †." Marina d'Escobar beheld a certain grave man of great authority, led by four or five demons to a solitary place, where they tied him to a hard rock, and ill-treated him till he was nearly dead. This, she was told, was in punishment for his having in important affairs followed his own judgment with blind obstinacy, which in rulers, governors, judges, and men in power, is a grievous sin, however pure their intentions may be; for they should hear counsel, and not persist in following their own solitary judgment, hard as that rock, against the advice of wise men ‡.

In fine, monarchy, and every form of government, without the Catholic influence, may be said to furnish a signal pointing to the Divine excellence, which it outrages or rejects by means of the very infirmity which it betrays, in regard to itself, and in the conduct and direction of its own interests. The mould is not broken which formed those degenerate Greek emperors, growing up in the lap of luxury and idleness, seeking only pleasure, asking for flowers in winter and fruits in the spring, and whom the songs of birds can never rouse from sleep. The palace of the spirit of the world is still standing; and, as Don John of Palafox says, "self-love is the young man who guides you to it." The spirit that reigns there is that which Herod evinced when, as the Père de Ligny observes, being disposed to mocking, it was in the order of things that his courtiers should mock. "The mocking character belongs peculiarly," he adds,

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* Revelat. lib. viii. c. 98.

† Lib. xii. 19.

‡ Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. ii. lib. ii. c. 19.

"to the courtier. The more serious an object is, the more he is disposed to mock; and therefore religion is the chief object of his mockery. And yet he is capable of being serious; but it is on ridiculous subjects. These men mocked at the silence of Jesus, whose gravity and dignity had imposed even on Pilate. If it had been a charlatan who had practised some slight of hand before them, they would have admired him with seriousness *." France too, of late years, has beheld an official society supporting a monarchy of the new type, that laughed, drank, played, and blasphemed, that lectured, that idled, that smoked, talked, wrote, and governed; but an eloquent voice of warning reached it, saying, "No, no; this society, with its little things and its little men, does not direct the movement of the world. Though they were all to become atheists from the babe that sucks to the old man that totters, we must not fancy that it is they who will direct events, or that the religion which they think obsolete has perished †." Here the character of ministers of state resembles him whom the poet has described,

"For his thoughts are low;"

to secure some object of his own or of the king's ambition industrious, but

——— "to nobler deeds
Tim'rous and slothful; yet he pleased the ear."

The policy seems formed according to his advice, when saying,—

——— "all things invite
To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
Of order, how in safety best we may
Compose our present evils—dismissing quite
All thoughts of war."

Yet here, as Lopez de Vega notices, kings are pensive and grow pale suddenly. It is the instinct of their own weakness, as if conscious of being isolated and without God, that produces these effects. See how they change colour. "Oh," he replies, "it is nothing; statesmen, as well as scholars and men of study, are subject to these sudden impressions of surprise." Even legitimate kings have such moments, which might direct them and all who mark them to a greater security than earthly thrones can yield. "One day Henry III., leaving his palace of Westminster, in order to dine in a boat and take pleasure on the Thames, the air became suddenly dark, and the thunder rolled and lightning flashed. The king ordered the boat to shore.

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* Hist. de J. C.

† Timon.

They were at the foot of the magnificent palace of the Bishop of Durham, which was then occupied by the Earl of Leicester. Hearing of his arrival, the earl came joyously down to salute the king, and said, 'Why fear? The storm is past.' The king, not joking, but with a serious tone and severe pale countenance, replied, 'I fear beyond measure thunder and lightning, but by God's cap I have more fear of thee than of all the thunder and lightning in the world!' 'My lord,' said the earl, 'you do me wrong. Why fear me, your constant friend? It is your enemies, the spoliators and calumniators, you ought to fear.' All present perceived that the king's violence arose from his considering that Leicester took part with the barons *." Such interruptions to court pastimes are still common; nor indeed can it seem strange if kings, without a just title, should often tremble and grow pale thus, having such great cause for uneasiness at every turn, for under such rulers we hear complaints that it is a government powerless, without a system, without a will, without good faith, without honour—a government cowardly, corrupt, which despises the laws and falsifies national institutions. Then the just perceive that new contests are preparing for them, and that kingdoms are to be shaken to their centre, while familiars of the system hope, like some under the son of Tarquin, "largitionibus inde prædæque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi †." So every where are men whispering, if not audibly speaking, like the King of Leon's messenger to Count Fernan Gonzalez, as in the old Romancero, beginning, "Buen Conde Fernan Gonzalez," and saying, "Good count, the king desires you to repair to the Cortes at Leon. If you go there, he will reward you. He will give you Palenzuela and the great Palencia. He will give you nine towns, and with them Carrion. He will give you Torquemada and the tower of Mormajon; he will give you Tordesillas and the tower of Labaron; and if you go not you will be held for a traitor." But, as society will partake of the character of such government, men will not then reply to such invitations like that count, "You are but a messenger, friend, and the fault is not yours. As for me, I fear neither the king nor all those who are with him; I have towns and castles that I can dispose of as I please. My father left me some; others I have gained myself; I have peopled the former with rich men; the latter with labourers. To him who had only one ox I gave another, so that he has two. To him who had a daughter to marry I gave a rich dower; to him who had not money I was there to lend it to him. Hence every day they pray for me, while the king loads them with taxes." Catholicity, and all its duties, responsibilities, institu-

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* Mat. Paris, anno 1258.

† Liv. lib. i. c. 54.

tions, and liberties, being withdrawn, corruption will be thought political strength, and, while under the narrow and foolish empire of a man which each day leaves less place for God, the multitude will co-operate with the short-sighted wisdom of the chief. Some foolish Father upon a throne will then, at the instigation of unprincipled advisers, like Ferdinand VII. play the part of Stilico, qui ut unum puerum purpura indueret, totius generis humani sanguinem dedit *. Then, when it is too late, men will lament the consequences of having violated the Catholic provisions for the peaceful transmission and durability of power; but, as the Count de Maistre says, a nation has always the kind of government that it deserves. Hence it is, that being confined to a small minority, the religious movement of this day, as a learned French writer remarks, has no influence on government, and infirmity is the unavoidable result. " There is no social return," he says, " to Christian principles. Society cannot expect a just or stable government. What are those principles? Examine them one by one. Power comes from God. Is there a return to this principle? Governments are established to procure the temporal and spiritual good of the people. Is there a return to this principle? Proceed, and see if there be a single principle of Christianity which has returned to enter into the political constitution of any European state †." Philosophy, indeed, is invoked, and it is an old device. Don Antonio de Guevara, citing the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, says, " I have translated these passages in order that the people of every state may perceive how easy it is to speak well, and how difficult to do well; for there is nothing in the world cheaper than the fine counsels which this tyrant loved to give; and indeed I remark, that there never was a tyrant in Sicily who had not studied the philosophy of the Greeks ‡."

But let us pause awhile, to observe the cunning which such governments adopt as a substitute for strength, where an abstraction is proposed as security amidst confused discourses, in which nothing is clear but the will to be unjust. Statesmen, under their influence, seem strictly to belong to those who ever wish to found a nether empire, which may rise—

" By policy, and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to heaven."

And who say, with subtle chiefs,—

———" Our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile
What force effected not."

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* Oros.

† Gaume, Hist. de la Société Domest. 1.

‡ L'Horloge des Princes, lib. i.

Then follow concordats, with articles added after signature, to bind the party that never subscribed to the addition. Then are registered as trophies of diplomatic excellence, gifts, like the snuff-box which cost thirty thousand francs. Here, laying snares on all sides, the ruler may be heard to use the exact words of Pentheus—"Methinks I see them already like birds caught in my nets*." Like Herod, he, too, professes a desire to adore Christ, though never would he refuse his sanction to the policy that requires the erection of new mosques for Mahomet; unlike the Crusaders, who thought that the favour granted by the Greeks to the Turks of having a mosque in the city, alone merited the punishment which befell them. But diplomacy, in such time, has little concern with faith; though in its saloons and banquet-halls may sound, for entertainment, the hymns of Jerusalem. It rather verifies what Plato says, that "politicks, according to the notions of the sophists, constitute a science, the object of which is to study and satisfy the brutal appetites of a ferocious animal"—to which he compares the public. Charles IX. of France, kept an ambassador at Constantinople, alleging his desire of promoting the interests of Christendom; and on one occasion that ambassador was a Huguenot†. In fact, in the sixteenth century, while the Catholic Church was invoking eternal and divine principles to save the world from social and political calamities, resisting thus the Protestant policy, which was acting convulsively in intellectual and social disorder, kings had for their only remedy their reasons of state, which combated or yielded, according to the accidental chances of the moment‡. This is the false prudence in the palace, of the spirit of the world, which says, as Palafox remarks, "that one should proceed gently, that by degrees one can gain one's point; that time will bring all things to pass best, while time in fact passes, and no remedy is applied to any thing§." This is what Frederick Schlegel distinguishes as the successor of the prince of this world in Christian ages, styling it the spirit of time—the spirit opposed to divine influence, apparent in those who consider and estimate time, and all things temporal, not by the law and feeling of eternity, but, for temporal interests, or from temporal motives, change, or undervalue, and forget the thoughts and faith of eternity." It is the spirit, of which Milton represents Satan as the advocate, imputing to him the words—

"And should I melt—yet public reason just,
Honour, empire—each compels me now
To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor."

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* Bacch.

† M. de Gran. Campagnes.

‡ Le Vict. de Falloux, Hist. de S. Pie, v.

§ Voyage Spirituel.

Some counsellor will seek to inspire even such kings, and such assemblies, with a generous desire. So, in our age, to men of other views, like the fervent angel, often spoke Montalembert, holding the Catholic faith ever in their faces, like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzled and pierced their misty eyeballs; maintaining the honour of its absolute sufficiency and supremacy inviolable, exclaiming, "What more binding than conscience? what more free than indifferency?" Cruel, then, must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty, that shall break asunder the bonds of religion!

> ——— "But his zeal
> None seconded, as out of season judged,
> Or singular and rash."

"To teach thus," as a great author says, "is mere pulpitry to them. This is the master-piece of a modern politician,—how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks; how rapine may serve itself with the face and honourable pretences of public good; how the puny law may be brought under the wardship and control of lust and will; in which attempt, if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten, to wash over the unsightly bruise of honour. We must not run, they say, into sudden extremes. But this is a fallacious rule, unless understood only of the actions of virtue about things indifferent: for, if it be found that those two extremes be vice and virtue, falsehood and truth, the greater extremity of virtue and superlative truth we run into, the more virtuous and the more wise we become; and he that, flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to shoot himself too far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted restoration, had better not have run at all. And for themselves it matters not if the change of governments were sudden and swift, provided still it be from worse to better—for certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid ourselves of corrupt discipline, as we would shake fire out of our bosoms." But the same writer observes—"That fear and dull disposition, lukewarmness and sloth, are apt to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation;" and instances are found of such policy in every age. William of Newbury shows clearly enough that he would have sided with modern politicians in this respect; for, speaking of the zeal of St. Thomas, he uses these plausible but most ungenerous and unwise words:—"Fervent it was; but, whether fully according to knowledge, God knows. To our littleness it cannot be per-

mitted to judge rashly of the actions of such a man; yet I think that the blessed Pope Gregory, towards a prince with whom his peace was still so tender and weak, would have acted more mildly; and what could be tolerated without danger of the Christian faith, by reason of the times he would have dissemblingly suffered, for sake of peace, following the prophet—'Prudens in tempore illo tacebit quia tempus malum est.' Therefore what was done by the venerable pontiff, I think neither to be praised nor blamed; but I admit that, even if his zeal did become immoderate, its excess was purified by the fire of his passion: while the fame of the king was horribly stained throughout the world, since it could scarcely be believed that the crime was committed without his will and command[*]." "Blessed Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "who in our time has contended unto death for the liberty of the Church, shone with no miracles during his persecution; and after his being slain many disputes arose respecting him. Some said he was a betrayer of the kingdom; others, a martyr and defender of the Church. At Paris, Master Rogerus swore that he was worthy of death, judging as contumacy the constancy of the blessed man. On the contrary, Petrus Cantor pronounced him a glorious martyr, slain for the freedom of the Church. Which disputes were set at rest by Christ, when he glorified him by many and great miracles[†]." It is the remark of St. Ambrose, that where Herod was the star which led the magi disappeared; where Christ was, there it was again seen—et magos ad eum adorandum prævia stella perduxit. Amidst all the intrigues of ancient and modern diplomacy, swaying courts and parliaments alike, it is sometimes the devil only that can see clear. No bright heavenly star, at least, is found to guide the politician right. Fears, indeed, the instinct of infirmity, may be dictating the question of Herod, Ubi est qui natus est rex judæorum? And churches may be rising in some proud streets to glorify a reign with public edifices; but the prudent will think that in such times there is cause to apprehend ulterior steps; for, as the French historian, Pierre Mathieu, says, "the demon whose ascendancy is not then excluded, always keeps in view the gaining of his point, and does good in one respect only in order to do a greater evil in another[‡]." One of the banished crew oft ventures from the deep to raise new troubles; at one time saying,—

> "How like you this wild council, mighty States?
> Smacks it not something of the policy?"

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[*] Rer. Anglic. lib. ii. c. 25.

[†] Lib. viii. c. 69.

[‡] Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vii.

At another—

> "With tract oblique, as one who seeks
> Access, but fears, side-long he
> Works his way ————
> As when a ship, by skilful steersman wrought,
> Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
> Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail:
> So varies he, wary and insinuating."

He comes charged with secret instructions, or invested with a public character, as the worm glided on to Adam in terrestrial Paradise. Even so, perhaps, to the vicar of Christ himself, governing the church militant, he is beheld—

> "Hitherward bent—escaped
> The bars of hell, on errand bad no doubt."

Religion, then, is invoked by the regal envoy against itself. Rulers have sworn, they must discharge their public duty. We read of the scruples of Herod—"Et propter jusjurandum;" and of the religious sadness of Herod—"Contristatus est rex*." Then, like Richard pointing out the weak spot in the defensive works of high and noble virtue, the charge is given,—

> "Urge the necessity and state of times,
> And be not peevish found to great designs."

"Ut enim sunt," to use Cicero's words, as if describing the policy of foreign ministers in later ages, "qui urbanis rebus bellicas anteponunt; sic reperias multos, quibus periculosa et calida consilia quietis et cogitatis et splendidiora et majora videantur.†" Thus are we shown chiefs or ministers, who can find their type described by him who loves to invest it with a borrowed majesty.

> "Pillars of state, deep on their front engraven,
> Deliberation sat, and public care;
> Sage they stand, with Atlantean shoulders
> Fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies."

And yet the Catholic Church, in answer to all their show of wisdom, will reply—Thou, even thou, may yet pull down the idol state with ruin on Philistine lords.

> "Before mine eyes thou hast set, and in my ear
> Vented much policy, and projects deep,
> Plausible to the world, to me worth nought."

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* Ant. de Escobar, in Evang. Comment. tom. vi. 88.

† De Officiis, lib. i. 24.

For the mighty weakness of the Gospel throws down the weak mightiness of man's reasoning; and, as Plato has remarked, "these cunning suspicious men, consummate in the practice of injustice, and who think themselves skilful and prudent, only seem such when they are with their like; but, when they are with good men, then their incapacity appears in their mistrust and unreasonable suspicions. One sees that they want straightforward sincerity, and that they are only deemed skilful by the vulgar, because they have more commerce with the wicked than with the good*." Meanwhile, there is a signal pointing to the Church, by observing that Catholicism would render diplomacy a very different science from what it has been since the sixteenth century. "The man in high authority," says the Prince de Conty, treating, under the inspiration of faith, on the duties of the great, "has need, indeed, of great prudence to conduct himself in different conjunctures; but he ought to avoid this prudence of the flesh, which is the enemy of God, considering that men are blind, and that their best concerted designs are generally deficient, notwithstanding all their application. His prudence ought to be regulated by more certain maxims; he ought to believe the rules of the gospel and of the Church to be more safe and sure than all the policy of men†." "Il ni y a lieu, ou la dissimulation doive avoir moins de credit qu'au conseil du prince," says the historian of Henry IV.‡, who, speaking of the diplomatic mediation of the Pope's legate, and of the general of the Franciscans, supposes success a consequence of such simplicity; "for," he adds, "one could not but expect a happy issue from the acts of persons who proposed nothing, and had no other passion but to advance the honour of God, the repose of Christendom, and the common good of their masters." Such were the notions of diplomacy in the middle ages. St. Louis had no other. How strange do they appear now? But what has not changed in the conduct of states? "Only look around upon the organization of the European nations," says Balmes, "and you will feel assured that their true progress has been turned aside by some fatal course. Their present state cannot be the result of the principles from which they derived their origin and development. We see not, as in the heathen times, troops of slaves chained together, but we see whole armies protecting, or engaged to protect, our capitals." And, of a truth, the need of some government at home is one of the first of human wants to a people; and therefore even the Gentile said that domestic and social are equal to warlike triumphs—"Quid enim prodest foris esse strenuum, si domi malè vivitur§?"

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* De Repub. lib. iii.

† Les Devoirs des Grands, xiii.

‡ Pierre Mathieu, lib. ix.

§ Val. Max. lib. ii.

But how can that be secured where imbecility or avarice, or hypocrisy or injustice, are enthroned? when government, in the person of its chief, is held in mockery, and declared to be represented by the arms of Bourges—an ass in an arm-chair; which jest might perhaps be applied without wrong to such kings as James the First, preferring to show himself on the throne, in his character of the heir of Elizabeth, rather than in that of the son of Mary Stuart; which choice failed in securing power for his posterity. Monarchs of this character, at all events, shed no lustre on their age by royal virtues; theirs is the infirmity of meanness, even to dishonesty. James the First excused himself for not defraying the expenses of the Marquis de Rhosny, ambassador of Henry IV., according to the custom of the time, by urging the numbers of embassies which came to compliment him on his accession *. Without faith it is the same, even though the name of Catholic be retained; and Jocelin of Brakelond gives an amusing instance, describing the visit of King John to the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, for he says,—"King John, immediately after his coronation, setting aside all other affairs, came down to St. Edmund, drawn thither by his vow and by devotion. We, indeed, believed that he was come to make offering of some great matter; but all he offered was one silken cloth, which his servants had borrowed from our sacrist, and to this day have not paid for. He availed himself of the hospitality of St. Edmund, which was attended with enormous expense, and upon his departure bestowed nothing at all either of honour or profit upon the saint, save thirteen easterling pence, which he offered at his mass on the day of his departure." Dead even to the instinct that might be expected to prevail where selfish interests were at stake, recklessness and indifference mark the issue of their reigns. "Let the deluge come after me," is the maxim there. Herod swore that he would give his daughter the half of his kingdom, if she asked it. "Vide," adds St. Ambrose, "quemadmodum seculares ipsi de secularibus suis judicent potestatibus, ut pro unica saltatione etiam regna donentur." Now, for men of thoughtful philosophic minds, at least, Catholicity should have an immense attraction, by presenting them with an image of authority, delivered from the weakness and infirmity to which all mere secular power is subject. Pierre Mathieu says, that "Christierne IV., king of Danemark, would imitate Henry IV. in every thing, even to his dress and exercises, and to the manner of wearing his sword;" and, speaking of Don de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, he says, "Of every three words that he uttered, two were to magnify his master †." Of something far higher to imitate, of something far nobler to mag-

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* Pierre Mat. lib. vi.

† Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vi.

nify, there is a want in the human soul; and it is Catholicism, not human power, independent of it, which supplies the deficiency. Oh, how infatuated are the eyes of those vain men, whom the splendours of a pure earthly court can dazzle, so as to render them blind and insensible to the attraction which Catholicity exercises even in the presence of kings! "What is all this splendour," exclaims D'Averoult, "if we think of the indescribable beauty of the celestial tabernacles, and of the vestments of divine tissue, and of the incorruptible diadems which God has prepared for those who love Him *!" "O princes and lords," says the preacher of the Emperor Charles V., "put on cloth of gold, heap up treasures, levy armies, arrange jousts and tournaments, take vengeance on your enemies, employ your vassals, marry your children to those of great kingdoms, leave them vast inheritances, raise superb edifices to immortalize your names; but I swear that I feel more pity and compassion for your sinful souls than envy for your voluptuous lives—for, in fine, the pastime will finish, and then you will be the prey of hungry worms †." Monarchy, if the principles which gave it such unparalleled duration in the Christian republic be departed from—monarchy or government, let the form be what it may, that seeks to be independent of the religious interests which it should espouse and defend, may be said therefore to point to the Catholic Church by its miseries and its wants; by its wrongs against God; by its injustice towards men; in fine, by its infirmity in regard to itself. The cross, truly and consistently adopted as the symbol of government, would have saved all; but such trophies as that obelisk of Arles, on which they placed, though in a glorious and certainly a Christian kingdom, not a cross, but a portrait of the great monarch, in a sun dispensing rays, might well have been regarded as an evil presage of social and political calamities. A straw can show the direction of the wind. Not that I would compare, glancing thus at late and distant characters, the man with the man, or France, which was then a truly great and illustrious kingdom, with the states, bowed under the yoke of ancient oppressors, or of heresy or of its allies—this would be to confound all things—but that I would suggest how no monarchy can exist as an independent source of security and benediction, without proclaiming at least by its destiny, and the voice of an affrighted world, the supremacy of truth.

Catholic ages, it is true, had some examples of the instability of secular power. As the Spaniards sing in the Romancero, beginning "Las huestas del rey Rodrigo," the King Rodrigues could say, "Yesterday, I was king of Spain; to-day, king of no

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* Cat. Historial, c. viii. tit. 14.

† Ant. de Guevara, l'Horloge des Princes, lib. i.

single town am I: yesterday, I had many servants; to-day, I am left alone. I have not even one embattled tower that I can call mine." "In the beginning, progress, and decline of great families," says Paradin, "we may remark how the blood of the best races grows old as every thing else, and how imperial power perishes. For in Charles Martel shone flourishing force, vigour, and understanding, full of fire; in Pepin, an almost divinity of valour; in Charlemagne, a celestial spirit, capable of ruling the whole world; and then new wearers of the crown arose, and all this glory was at an end *." "Yes," says an old English orator, "time hath its revolutions; there must be a period and an end to all temporal things—finis rerum; an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene. And why not of nobles and of kings? for where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality." Ask this very forest, which supplies us with an emblem of the human life, where are the palaces which once sent forth throngs to enliven its green alleys with the royal train? The palace of Poissy cannot be traced upon the soil. St. Germain is almost a naked ruin. Marly can only be seen by the imagination above the green mounds of earth covering the foundations, where daisies and cowslips attract the peasant children. Versailles is a museum; Chantilly, as well as Isle-Adam, only a remembrance. In vain you look around for the frail grandeur which once had its seat in all these historic localities. But you find the font of St. Louis in the church of Poissy, and the tombs of kings beneath the towers of St. Denis, where the same offices they once listened to float and move in solemn majesty over the earth that does not even any longer contain their bones. So, while palaces, marble columns, statues of bronze, and gardens (often more durable, by reason of their roots and humble shrubs) disappear, Catholicity remains unchanged and ready, willing, and able, as of old, to impart security and peace to men of good will. And if power, allied with divine faith, often nobly and royally protecting it, proclaims thus its instability, and refers us for immortal benediction to its celestial partner, what shall we say of power, of empires, that sought to control, to corrupt, or with deceitful tongue, only for selfish earthly interest, to acknowledge it? There is a rock in the far distant ocean that re-echoes Neptune's cry of old—

μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις
ναούς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων,
ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον †.

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* Contin. de l'Hist. de Nostre Temps, p. 173.

† Troad. 95.

There is a palace from which a later monarch flies a wanderer, forsaken and helpless, in the same night when the holy Church is singing at nocturns, with observant soul, "Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adjutorem suum, sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum et prævaluit in vanitate sua*,"—words which concern all governments that deny the supremacy of God; that persecute or impede his Church; that hope to endure, by craft, or violence, and wrong. It is Rupertus, from his cloister, that can warn them thus; for he says that the writing against Babylon ought to be understood as a denunciation against all the kingdoms of the world†. Mene, numbered; God has numbered your kingdom. Tekel, weighed; you are weighed and found wanting. He who ordained kingdoms will judge them. Your kingdom is found wanting in deeds corresponding with my intentions. "Multum itaque deest in pondere, quia deest totum quod esset laudabile, scilicet omnis intentio justitiæ, voluntas corripiendi, intentio corrigendi, refrenandi vitia, sautiendi gentibus jura legitima." Pares, divided; your kingdom is divided, while that of the saints remains whole and undiminished: for your number, six, is divisible; but the seventh, which is God's number, cannot be divided. Your kingdom, therefore, can be divided, and, without doubt, is divided; but the kingdom of God and of the saints remains for ever. For the figure of this world passeth away, and you from the principality of this world, and from the power of this darkness, will pass into the eternal woe‡. It is not sufficient, however, for our purpose to estimate the divine perfection of Catholicity from an observation of the social and political consequences, where it is unknown or rejected. We must mark the direct signals pointing to it, from the positive advantages which it yields in forming the ideal, and directing the conduct of all human governments.

Hitherto we have surveyed the kingdoms and republics of the earth formed after the earthly type; we have seen the men who, with accordant manners, ruled them. They reigned indeed, but not according to God. "Et quid attinet," as Rupertus asks, "ad eos in mundo regnare, regnante illo qui solus regnare debet, mundi creatore?" "If," he continues, "it be a thing inordinate and irreverent not to rise up before the hoary head, what must not be the presumption and impiety of those who would lacerate the kingdom of the Ancient of days, by arrogating a part as if by right of private possession? Between young and old men it is easy to compare ages; but between the age of Him who is the Ancient of days, and that of men who would arrogate his power to themselves, there never was, and never can be, a com-

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* Cruice, Vie de M. Affre, Arch. de Paris.

† De Victoria Verbi Dei, lib. vii. 6.

‡ Id. lib. vii. 8, 9.

parison instituted. When the most ancient of those beasts rose from the sea, when the kingdom of the Assyrians rose from the earth, the Ancient of days had spoken to Abraham, and was then as ancient as He is now *." It is from Him all power descends; it is according to Him all power should be exercised; it is to his glory all power should be directed. "All kingdoms," he continues, "should be actually ruled by his eternal Son. This was the decree of that ancient wisdom. This was the inscrutable counsel of infinite antiquity. But those little beasts lately born, which, in being born, brought nothing into the world, presumed to rebel against this decree, to oppose this counsel; and, not fearing this antiquity, arrogated to themselves as much and as many parts of his kingdom of this world as they could; men invading men, though, in the eyes of that wise Lord, man cannot excel man in nature. To men indeed these beasts were great, as a lion, a bear, a panther, and the fourth more terrible still; but, in relation to that ancient majesty, they were only as mice or locusts. Truly, whatever He wished to do with these bestial kingdoms He could do, who caused the plagues of Egypt; who caused Nabuchodonozer to eat grass like an ox; Aman to be hanged from the gibbet; and Nero to die so miserably and disgracefully: for his empire, as it is said, is not a feigned empire, not counterfeit, but a real and true omnipotent dominion. Undoubtedly, the empires of the beasts, and of the bestial men who had power like beasts, to kill for a time, but not to restore life, were only feigned and counterfeit empires; whereas his kingdom and dominion were true and without end for everlasting ages †."

Of mere human, or, as we should say, secularized government, the government of man over man, even the Gentile philosopher perceived the inadequacy. "Saturn, discerning," says Plato, "that no man was able to govern men with absolute authority without injustice, established for rulers, not men but intelligences of a more divine nature than ours, namely demons, to do for us what we do for flocks of sheep or other domestic animals. For we do not set oxen or goats over animals of their kind to command them, but men, as being of a higher nature than theirs. Similarly—*καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δὴ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὢν, τὸ γένος ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων*, who, governing us with ease, cause to reign on earth peace, modesty, freedom, and justice, and preserve for us happy days exempt from trouble and discord. Therefore there is no mode of escape from the vices and evils of a state, unless by recurring, as much as possible, to the method of life of Saturn, trusting the direction of our public and private affairs, that is, of the state and of the individual, to the immortal

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* De Victoria Verbi Dei, lib. vii. 12.

† Id. lib. vii. 14.

part of our nature *." The Catholic theory of Christian government, according to which the state is founded in faith and love, supposes domination not in opposition, but in conformity and strict allegiance to the government of God: and this domination forms then part of the divine government; for, as the angelic doctor says of the supreme ruler,—

"Sibi subjicit omnia;
Alia vult per alia,
Non se solo, regere †."

At the coronation of the king of France a palm used to be given to him, with these words, "Det tibi Dominus velle et posse quæ præcipit, ut in regni regimine secundum voluntatem suam proficiens cum palma perseverantis victoriæ ad palmam pervenias gloriæ sempiternæ ‡." It supposes all men exercising legitimate authority on earth, spiritual and temporal, to act in harmony with the divine government, so that they can give of themselves the testimony which Dante heard in Paradise, when in his ear sounded,—

——— "And in one orb we roll,
One motion, one impulse, with those who rule
Princedoms in heaven §."

The old philosophers would certainly have accepted such views as inviting them forward to the centre. Plato expressly taught, "that in heaven can be found the model state, which men should consult so as to regulate the conduct of the soul by it, and that the sage will never consent to govern any state but one which resembles it ||." Thus is the Catholic theory of government justified by human wisdom. But let us observe how it was expressed and practically taught. Before the eyes of the world then, Christ our Lord, in whom, says the Church at the coronation of kings, is all power and victory—qui est gloria humilium et vita salusque populorum—receives the supreme homage of the Catholic ruler, who, before receiving the crown, lies prostrate at the foot of the altar, with the crown and sceptre placed upon it, while the pontiffs and clergy are praying on each side with closed palms. This solemn commencement is to indicate that the foundation of every kingdom, as of the holy Roman empire, consists in the words which Pope Leo III. placed in the vast mosaic representing it in the hall of the Lateran palace,

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* De Legibus, lib. iv.

† Doct. A. Sum. Theolog. Rhyth. Synopsis.

‡ La Tradition de l'Eglise sur les Benedictions.

§ 8.

|| De Repub. lib. ix.

"Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth to men of good will *."

"XS vincit. XS regnat. XS imperat."

Such was the profession of political faith on the coins of Catholic kingdoms; and certainly neither kings nor people had any just reason to desire a change in regard to it, either on political or religious grounds; for the objection pretended on the latter is set at rest by the remark of St. Augustin, "Non ait, Regnum meum non est hic, sed, non est hinc †."

Catholicism during many ages had fulfilled the predictions of the sybils, as interpreted by Cotta, who declared, says Cicero, publicly in the senate, "Eum quem revera regem habebamus appellandum quoque regem, si salvi esse vellemus ‡." Christ was called and recognized as the king of all Christian states. Before the sixteenth century, as a French author observes, our Lord had actually his royal power and authority recognized over the nations. He had his judicial power, his ministers, his knights and troops, his palaces, his treasuries §. Historically and literally, in the sense of human government, we can repeat the Psalmist's words, and say, "Dominus regnavit, irascantur populi: qui sedet super cherubim, moveatur terra." That the social as well as the political order might be placed under the safeguard of the same principles, proprietors were represented by the saints in every monastery, and by the blessed Mother of God, who, as in Marseilles, had actually her house within that city, to which her image of the chapel of La Garde used to be conveyed every year, to be borne at the procession of Corpus Christi, where it remained during the octave. Public opinion undoubtedly supported the Catholic Church in requiring that the rulers of every state, for the happiness of which she holds herself responsible, should honour and co-operate with the Church, which is the divine kingdom, "Quo enim homo," as St. Bridget says, "ad altiorem gradum ascenderit, eo majorem honorem tenetur Deo reddere ‖;" and St. Catherine of Sienna, addressing Jane, queen of Naples, who had sided with the schism, went so far as to say to her, "My very dear mother, I give you this name in the confidence that you will love truth and obey the holy Church; for otherwise I would not give you this title; nor would I address you with respect, since you would not in my judgment be a princess or a queen, but a slave of lies and of Satan, who is their father." Such freedom did the

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* Gerbet, Esquisse de Rome Chrét. i. 409.

† Tract. in Joan. xvi. 19.

‡ De Divinat. 110.

§ Gaume, Hist. de la Société Domest.

‖ Revelat. lib. iii. 1.

opinion and manners of Catholic times permit between the ministers of truth and those who had sovereign power. "All the measures of a governor," says the prince of Conty, treating on his obligations, "ought to regard the glory of God, the service of the king, and the benefit of the people*." To glorify the Church was held, for many ages, to be the first duty of every government, whether monarchal or popular. Protection indeed of all good, not offence, entered into the very ideal of government, even with the ancients, Plutarch observing that the name of king was given to signify those who protect and who take care of†; and with Christians the spiritual interests of men involved in the Church were certainly not considered as the sole objects to be left without protection. "It is true," says St. Isidore, "the power of the princes of the world in defending ecclesiastical discipline would not be necessary, if the priest could effect the object by the word of doctrine; but often the celestial is aided by the terrestrial kingdom, when those who, within the Church, would act against faith and discipline are restrained by the rigour of princes‡." It is true, "when the Church, without temporal support, is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues, as an adversary says, 'a divinity about her;' but the source of her influence is not obscured when it extends even to that power, which would without it control and persecute her, seeking to devour her as its prey, like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgins' blood. Him our old patron, St. George, by his matchless valour slew, as he who wears the garter," says this author, "can best tell. And if our princes and knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of knighthood, solemnly taken, they vow, far be it that they should uphold and side with this dragon; but rather to do, as indeed their oaths bind them, they should make it their knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sail-winged monster, that menaces to swallow up the land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfied with the blood of the king's daughter—the Church, and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the saints." "Nothing can be well administered," says Ives de Chartres, "writing to Henry, king of England, "unless when the kingdom and the priesthood agree in one. Permit, therefore, the word of God to run in your dominions, and the earthly to be subject to the celestial power, just as the animal sense should be in obedience to reason§." At the coro-

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* Mem. du Prince de Conty.

† Life of Theseus.

‡ D. Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 53.

§ Ivon. Carnot, epist. 106.

nation of a king the pontiff is directed to admonish and remind him, that he is to consider himself as a participator in the episcopal ministry, as a true worshipper of God in external things, and a stout defender of the Church against all adversities *.

Such is the great sacerdotal synthesis which formed the Christian civilization, opposed to the philosophic analysis which seeks to dissolve it. But let us again observe the words which the Church addresses to kings at their coronation, "You will retain inviolable the Christian religion and Catholic faith; and you will defend it to the best of your strength against all adversaries—ecclesiasticam libertatem non conculcabis." "Very characteristic of the middle ages," says the Père Cahier, "placing a wide gulf between them and the present times, is that crown which the Church wears on the stained windows of Bourges, and the sense which the thirteenth century attached to it." Arnoulf de Lisieux, at the council of Tours in the year 1163, used these words, "In order that the state of the Church may be preserved in safety, it is necessary to provide for its unity and for its liberty; the ambition of schismatics endeavours to rend the one, the violence of tyrants seeks to destroy the other. Yet to effect either of these objects will be impossible by the grace of God; it is impossible to rend the spiritual sacrament of ecclesiastical unity which between Christ and the Church, by means of the Father, is connected and established with an indissoluble bond; and it is impossible to destroy the liberty of the Church of God, which the effusion of our Lord's blood has consecrated.—Ita Domini mei, salva nobis semper est unitas; salva semper est libertas ecclesiæ; quia neque tunica inconsutilis scindi potest, neque Christi sanguis in irritum devocari. . . . . Et licet ii quos diximus tyranni terrarum circa temporalia bona et ipsa etiam corpora nostra desæviant, edant carnes nostras . . . infirmantur et cadunt." Nor is it alone the liberty of the Church which Catholicism would secure under all governments. It desires that governments themselves should be Christian; and that the ecclesiastical liberty should be only a consequence of their faith. Darius, the king, wrote to all people, tribes, and languages, saying, "A me constitutum est decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo trĕmiscant et pāveant Deum Danielis. Ipse enim est Deus vivens, et æternus in seculo." "This sounds admirable," says Collius; "and yet none of the holy Fathers, nor any one studious of secular science, that I am aware of, has ever supposed that Darius renounced the vanity of the false gods of the Gentiles; nor did he even by that decree forbid their worship. Cyrus, too, wrote to all nations that there was no God but the God of Israel; yet Cyrus was a worshipper of false gods to the

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* Pont. Rom.

last; and therefore Dionysius, the Carthusian, concludes of Cyrus thus:—quem constat esse damnatum tanquam idolatrum et ingratum *."

Catholicity desires the salvation of rulers as well as of subjects, wishing for each king, as the Church prays on holy Saturday, "cœlestem victoriam cum omni populo suo." Therefore its ideal of government supposes a homogeneous and harmonious whole as constituting its happy state. "O earthly princes!" cries Antonio de Guevara, "if you did but know what a little thing it is to stand ill with men, and what a great thing it would be for you to have the favour of God, I swear that you would not take the trouble to speak one word to men, but day and night you would not cease recommending yourselves to God †." St. Bridget is charged to admonish kings in these words: "Let the king remove from himself counsellors whose hearts are ambitious, and whose eyes are blind to spiritual things, and let him choose those who love God more than carnal things, and who have compassion on the miseries of men. Let every tenth denarium due to the king's treasury be given in alms to the poor. On every Friday let the king wash the feet of thirteen poor men, and give them food and money; and on that day let him hear the complaint of his subjects, and let him inquire into the fidelity of his ministers. Let him not introduce new customs contrary to laudable statutes, nor let him authoritatively dispose of things according to every suggestion of his mind, but govern justly according to the law of God ‡."

Such messages would now seem only suitable to a cloister. New maxims of government guide rulers. "How to solder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her dead lees, that," says an English author, "is now the deep design of a politician. Alas! sir, a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle saith." St. Augustin maintained the same proposition, saying, "Non enim aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo, cum aliud civitas non sit quam concors hominum multitudo. Therefore, if all your prudence, and fortitude, and temperance, and justice be exercised for the sole object of attaining to this earthly felicity mentioned in the Psalm, you will have neither true virtues nor true felicity; but if you

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* De Animab. Paganorum, p. ii. lib. ii. c. xi.

† L'Horloge des Princes, lib. i. 151.

‡ Revelat. S. Birg. lib. viii. Cælest. Imp. ad Reges, c. 2.

render thanks for the virtues you possess to Him who gives them, and employ them to his honour in your secular dignities, and induce by your example, and encouragements, and threats, those who are subject to you to worship Him, and seek no other end but that they may please Him who can give them the true life, those will be true virtues, and by his grace increasing, those will lead you to eternal life, where will be pure, unchangeable good*."

The Catholic secular government is to facilitate the salvation of its subjects; for to this end, as St. Gregory says to the Emperor Maurice, is power given to it over all men, "ut cœlorum via largius pateat; ut terrestre regnum cœlesti regno famuletur†." St. Bridget, writing to the King of Cyprus, says, "My fifth counsel to you is, that, for the sake of that great charity with which God loved your soul, you would desire to love the souls of your subjects, advising your military people, that all who have in any way offended God should quickly and humbly correct themselves, and that all who have come to years of discretion should confess their sins, and seek reconciliation if they have offended any one, and receive the holy eucharist‡." So practical was such advice, that we find Catholic rulers following it to the letter. Louis XIII., in an ordonnance of the year 1633, legalizing the house of the Calvary of Betharram, in the country of Béarn, ends by expressing his hope that, by means of it, "ses sujets pourront grandement profiter pour l'avancement de leur salut§." Indeed, from the ancient charters we may gather much information respecting both the theory and practice of government under the Catholic influence. The diploma, for instance, of William, duke of Calabria, begins thus: "Convenit omnes in regimine constitutos dominicis obedire præceptis, atque ei per quem regnant colla subjicere, ut regni illius mereantur esse participes quod fine caret, quod semper sine jactura, sine mærore durabit: ob amorem igitur regis cœlestis, per quem subsistimus, regimur, atque regnamus, concedimus‖," &c. Roger, son and heir of the magnificent Duke Robert, uses the same words in a charter to the same abbey, conferring gifts for the souls of his father Robert and mother Sikelgate, as also for his own soul and for the souls of his children¶. The exhortation of King Clovis to the bishops assembled in synod at Paris, in which he recognizes the liberty and exemptions of the monastery of St. Denis, is a document of the same class; for it begins

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* S. August. epist. 52.
† Lib. ii. ep. 61.
‡ Revelat. S. Birgittæ, lib. vii. c. 18.
§ Chronique de Betharram, 117.
‖ Ap. D. Gatul. Hist. Abb. Cassinensis, i. 230.
¶ Ap. id. sæc. vi. 158.

thus : " Although the supreme care admonishes us to call upon you as consulters of the public affairs, yet it becomes us first to dispose the things which are of God and of his saints, that afterwards the things which are ours by the gift of God may proceed. For He who deigned by Himself to promise, saying, ' Primum quærite regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis,' will fulfil his promise if we obey his precepts. Let us attend then to the things which concern the saints in the kingdom of the eternal Father, and all things will have a prosperous course on earth *." Inferences of the same kind may be drawn from that most ancient privilege by Cindasvind, the Gothic king, to the Complutensian monastery built by St. Fructuosus, which is preserved as such a precious specimen of Spanish antiquity in the cathedral of Astorga.—" I, King Cindasvinthus, and I, Reciberga, queen. Nothing seems wanting to the King of Heaven in all earthly and celestial creatures, which He does not possess, having created it, or which He does not dispose by his own government ; and therefore, if all things are made and ordained by Him, what can we offer worthy to God, from whom we receive the breath of life ? And yet, since He has promised to be pleased by the sacrifice of humility, we rejoice with grateful devotion in that which we have received from his hand. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the giver of a good will, and the true lover of that good vouchsafed, hath given us commandment to make way from the old man, and to follow the footsteps of our Redeemer, obeying his precepts with all our mind, showing by such proof that we who were in the shades of death, blind and improvident wanderers, are now illumined by his grace, He being our leader and lord, and that we are proceeding on the journey which He has prescribed to us by salutary commands. And since the observance of his commands leads to eternal life, He Himself saying, si feceritis quæ mando vobis, jam non dico vos servos sed amicos—for He renders the keepers of his commands strong in faith, and stable, and enriched with his love, springing from that fear which is the beginning of wisdom, and the fruit of the Holy Ghost ; therefore we issue this decree for the honour of your veneration, according to the decrees of the Catholic and Apostolic discipline, giving to the abbot and monks, and anchorites and hermits, and all serving God in your monastery, these mountains and valleys †." The privilege of Alphonso, king of Leon, in 1266, begins thus : " Regis Catholici interest sancta et religiosa loca tueri ac venerari, et ea possessionibus ampliare ‡." The principle which guided rulers in all

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* Ant. de Ypes Montserratensis Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Bened. tom. ii. 490.

† Id. ii. 497.

‡ Ap. id. tom. ii. 502.

such acts, and in seeking this co-operation, was expressed by Henry IV. in 1607, when he spoke these words to the Jesuits at Villers Cotterets :—" I have a great kingdom ; and a great nation can perform great good or great evil : you too are great, that is to say, in learning and piety towards the servants of God, and you can do great good by your sermons, confessions, writings, lectures, disputations, counsels, and instructions *."

Catholicism impressed on rulers a sense of their obligation to promote the spiritual greatness of their empire by acts which would undoubtedly be at variance with the views of a Babylonian kingdom :—

" But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and, knowing, worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part,
That other o'er, the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which to a generous mind
So reigning, can be no sincere delight."

If we are guided by Catholicism, we must not suppose, like the majority, as Plato says, who fancy that the object of government and legislation should be *ὡς μεγίστην τε εἶναι τὴν πόλιν—καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πλουσίαν, κεκτημένην δ' ἂν χρυσία καὶ ἀργυρία, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχουσαν ὅτι πλείστων* †. They add, indeed, that he should seek to render them virtuous and happy ; but even according to the Gentile philosopher, a preference given to mere material and temporal interests, will be sufficient to constitute a pernicious administration. Catholicism agrees with the philosopher, that "if our object be to render a state durable and happy as far as humanity permits, it is essential to make a right distribution of esteem and contempt—*δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τιμάς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμειν* : that this distribution will be right, if the first place be given to good qualities of soul, the second to advantages of the body, and the third and last to riches ; and that every legislator or state which reverses this order, placing the esteem of riches in the first rank, sins against the rules of justice and wise policy." To the advocates of mere material interests which may be thought to oppose such views, the Church only replies by adding her suffrage to the affirmation of the old philosophy—*πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω σαφῶς* ‡. The progress of a nation, as of a man, says a writer who is directed to Catholicity by observing its wisdom in regard to the government of states, "should not consist in heaping gold on

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* Le P. Bartoli, Hist. de S. Ignace, lib. ii.

† De Legibus, lib. v.

‡ Plat. de Legibus, lib. iii.

gold, envy on envy, hatred on hatred, and placing satiety on the summit of the pyramid. If it were so, what fatal passions would then serve them for escort! but in the eyes of reason such a brutal appreciation of interest seems sheer folly, not deserving of discussion, though it is the folly of our times*."

The power of a state does not consist in its riches, or extent of empire, or of science, as the modern despisers of Catholicism pretend, but, along with what Plutarch deemed sufficient, "its moderation, and gentleness, and justice," in its faith. The glory of a state consists, if you will even hear the ancient wisdom of the Gentile muse, in its piety. A pious enterprise, says the Greek poet, is a glorious monument for states, and eternal gratitude follows it—

καλὸν δ' ἄγαλμα πόλεσιν εὐσεβὴς πόνος,
χάριν τ' ἔχει τὰν ἐςαιεί †.

In the seventh century we find instructions on the conduct of a king, which might be thought to have emanated from Fenelon. The "Exhortatio ad Francorum Regem," beginning in the name of Christ, recalls the great examples of the sacred Scriptures—sets before the king the Christian duties of his office, charity to the poor being in the van—reminds him of the wisdom and gentleness of Childebert, the liberality of the old Clotaire, the benignity and piety of the later Clotaire, who seemed like a priest upon the throne—exposes the shame and ruin that follow the vices of the Merovingians—places the fear of God as the beginning of wise government, and subjection to God as the earnest of a glorious reign—in fine, unfolds the magnificent ideal of a monarchy according to God, dependent on God in the face of the Church, and leaves nothing for later ages to prescribe more sublime and practical, in the form of rules, for maintaining the interest and the happiness of states. A glance at the capitularies of Charlemagne will show the combination of ecclesiastical decrees and temporal laws, by means of which Christian government was conducted while the Catholic influence predominated. The secular government was to deliberate, as Pope Innocent said the council that he was convoking should deliberate, "on the means of exterminating vice, of propagating virtue, of placing barriers to disorder, of amending manners, of destroying heresy, of consolidating faith, of extinguishing enmities, of re-establishing peace, of putting an end to oppression, of protecting liberty—in fine, of establishing, as an inviolable rule for superiors and subjects, and for men of all orders, whatever will be judged conformable to the glory and honour of God, to the salvation of our

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* Études sur les Idées, &c. i. 229.

† Eurip. Supp. 373.

souls, and to the welfare of the Christian people*." The Catholic ideal of government is no less significantly expressed by Pope Adrian, in the terms with which he granted, according to the office he was required by the opinion of the age to discharge, permission to Henry II. to take possession of Ireland: for "we accede to your pious desire," he said, "esteeming it good and agreeable, that in order to enlarge the limits of the holy Church, to arrest the torrent of vices, to correct manners, to plant virtues, and to propagate the Christian religion, you enter that island, and execute there what may tend to the honour of God and the salvation of souls, so that all things may be ordained there in such a manner as to make you obtain an eternal recompense in heaven, and on earth an illustrious and glorious fame for ever†." Would an attention to such duties, and a realization of such views, have weakened or injured the English crown, or involved in misery and shame its new territory? Undoubtedly, Catholicism would impart a religious character to rulers. From the first, it is not the fault of the Church if kings have no sense of their obligations in this respect. Before their coronation, they are required, by the Roman Pontifical, to observe a fast of three days devoutly, on the fourth and sixth feria, and on the Saturday preceding; while, in Spain, it was an ancient etiquette that, before ascending the throne, the new king should pass forty days in retreat. Philip V. observed this law, even when resuming the crown after the death of his son, in whose favour he had abdicated. But what profound political wisdom did all this imply? "for unless kings are restrained," says St. Isidore, "by the fear of God, and the dread of hell, they easily fall headlong into every species of vice‡." This religious foundation, the root of all the fruits of justice, liberty, order, and peace, which Catholicism nourishes in the government of states, has no doubt a tendency to excite the apprehensions of weak, vacillating, and profane minds; but the Church has no alternative, and no compromise to propose, with a view to tranquillizing them. St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienna, replied to Gundobald, converted secretly, but still Arian by profession, who expressed them as an excuse for his not complying with what the Church enjoined, by showing that such fear were unworthy and base even in the simple subject, adding, "Tu vero cum sis rex, et à nullo adprendi formides, seditionem pavescis populi, ne creatorem omnium in publico fatearis. Relinque hanc stultitiam, et quod corde te dicis credere, ore profer in plebe§." It is imprudent, it is dangerous, say the politicians of the world,

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* Hurter, Geschichte Inn. III. lib. xviii.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1156.

‡ D. Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. c. 51.

§ S. Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. ii. 34.

to manifest such accordance with the Catholic Church. "Et quid mundo tam periculosum," she replies in the words of St. Hilary, "quam non recipisse Christum *?" Methinks already it is much to have found upon the road we tread a religious and wonderfully wise ideal of government, conformable to the profoundest sentiment of nature, and to the oldest and most widely extended traditions of the human race. But, looking forward now, as the Catholic Church stands before us thus majestical, and associated with all that is deepest, loftiest, and grandest in the thought of man, we find more than the theory. For in the old Christian state, established, as Frederick Schlegel says, by the religious energy of all the great fundamental principles of moral life, we find its realization, as far as was compatible with the fact of the fall, obtained during sixteen hundred years, and still attainable wherever Catholicism is permitted to exercise its influence upon the rulers and people of this world. "The distinctive character of royalty in France in the seventh century," says a Benedictine, "is abundant sanctity. This is also the noblest appanage of the Pepins: by undeniable titles they walk at the head of this elect crowd; and, in gaining the kingdom of heaven, they have conquered the empire of the world. Such is their legitimacy, and the last terms of their royal mission." The German emperors descend likewise from a holy source. Schoënleben has composed a work, entitled Annus Sanctus Habsburgo-Austriacus, or a Martyrology of the Saints and Venerable Persons of this Family of Habsburg, which he makes amount to five hundred. The elevation of Rodolf himself was ascribed to the reverence which he evinced for the blessed sacrament; but where is the nation of Christendom that cannot name its holy kings, its holy counsellors of state, and refer to the holy manners which united them with the people over whom they ruled or exercised delegated power? How many imposing figures in the Christian history which recall David the shepherd, poet, warrior, king! "It is not easy for a monarch to be pious," says a Gentile ruler,—

τόν τοι τύραννον εὐσεβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον †.

He knew not God, nor the power of his grace. And yet, even where that power is recognized, we find men impressed with a sense of the obstacles which this road presents to some. Can princes be saved? "Yes," replied a monk, after considering long, "if they die in their cradles ‡." The man of single eye, contemplating the perfection to which all are equally invited, wished, in this instance, only to teach the lesson which the Catholic Church

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* S. Hilarii Com. in Matt. xviii.

† Soph. Ajax, 1350.

‡ Beyerlinck, Apophthegm.

conveys to kings at their coronation, when, of the royal dignity, the pontiff says—"Præclarum sane inter mortales locum, sed discriminis, laboris, atque anxietatis plenum." But, with the history of Christian ages open before us, we see proof that, by Catholic rulers using well what was given to them from on high, the difficulty has been surmounted, the alternative obviated, the labour successful. You point at Catholic kings, unworthy, and perhaps wicked; but can you point out one whose unworthiness is not to be traced to his unwillingness to obey what Catholicism prescribes? There we feel secure—there we can defy all adversaries. But we are not driven to such apologies: for how rich are Catholic annals in examples of goodness and piety on a throne! "From my ancestors I have learned since the days of my youth," said Alphonso the Magnanimous, "to prefer divine religion to every thing." His letters to his friends breathe the devotion of a St. Bernard. He used to fast and abstain strictly on all vigils as well as during Lent and other penitential seasons; which custom he observed from the twentieth year of his age till he entered his seventieth year [*]. Malcolinus, king of Scotland, in the time of King Stephen, in the midst of a barbarous and perverse nation, as William of Newbury says, "shone like a celestial star; for, being prevented by God in the benediction of sweetness from his tender years, he had a fervent love for God, and was of such a pure conscience and gentleness of manners, that amongst seculars he seemed like a monk, and indeed an earthly angel. Truly it was strange that, directing as he did all his actions to God, such a king, instead of being despised by such a barbarous nation, should on the contrary have been an object of admiration and love; though the wicked dreaded him; and indeed all who devised evil feared to trouble a man with whom was God [†]." Marina de Escobar beheld in vision a certain gold celestial chain applied to the heart of King Philip IV., signifying that the divine virtue had communicated to him an especial affection for protecting our holy faith; and she learned that the heavenly gift was presented to him with an injunction that God demanded from him vigilance in government, and the pure zeal of his glory [‡]. How many ancient monuments attest the piety of Catholic kings, who practised the devout exercises prescribed by religion, with the same simplicity as if they were themselves in the number of the poor, without boasting, without affectation, without imagining that they evinced a merit of supererogation; but leaving men to infer that they only, like other Christians, fulfilled the common debt of gratitude to our Lord. I must not

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[*] Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hisp. lib. xi. xii.

[†] Guil. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. i. 25.

[‡] Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. ii. lib. ii. c. 12.

run out into a paroxysm of citations: but how can we proceed without a glance at a few of the majestic figures which seem here, like the ghosts of the past wandering in the back-ground, to look so lovingly upon us for wishing to observe how kingly and how holy they were while on earth. We cannot refuse to mark a few gliding thus before us, as faint shadows in the twilight gloom, —like that Domnaldus, king of Ireland, who died on the 12th of the calends of December, in the year 763, in the island of Iona, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, of whose holy end we find no other mention *. But of others the fame is yet so fresh, that we may be said to see them still in movement and in action. A monk of Windsor, in 1500, begins his Life of Henry VI. with a hymn, to commemorate his holiness,—

"Pie pater orphanorum,
Vera salus populorum,
Robur et ecclesiæ,
Salve! forma pietatis,
Exemplar humilitatis,
Decus innocentiæ!
Vi oppressis vel turbatis,
Mestis atque desolatis,
Scola pacienciæ."

Edward the Martyr, Edward the Confessor, St. Henry, St. Stephen, St. Louis, what kings! and, in respect to piety, how many illustrious men resembled them while administering power under another form; for the same character belongs to several of the eminent worthies who governed the republics of the middle ages, as may be inferred from that long series of portraits at Venice being corroborated as historic witnesses by the precious manuscripts of St. Mark's, representing victorious doges kneeling at the feet of our blessed Lady. At the present day, where the Catholic faith exists, the devout exercises of these ancient princes are practised by some men of the same dignity. "The Grand Duke of Florence," says a recent author, "has a secret passage through the streets of Florence, by means of his black robe and hood, as a member of the Compagnia della Misericordia. It is said, that he has been seen, at the tolling of the great bell of the tower, which sounds to call the members together, to rise from his seat at table, and quietly withdraw to attend the summons."

But without dwelling upon the examples of rulers, eminent for their consistent holiness, let us observe some of the traits of piety related by historians, as attesting rather the general tone and character of all government under the influence of Catho-

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* Ogygiæ Domest. p. iii.

licism, than any extraordinary degree of sanctity in the prince to whom they are ascribed.

If the imperial crown, by ancient usage, according to the Catholic theory, was for the bravest, wisest, most pious, and most Christian of the candidates, as is declared in the rescript of Frederic I., and if, therefore, according to the same theory, as Gervase of Tilbury reminds Otho, the emperor ought to know what is orthodox and what heterodox*, we find, in point of fact, that Catholicism formed men who could, at least in part, realize the ideal, as Charlemagne, Rodolph of Hapsburg, Charles V., and that great Duke of Suabia, who said he was prevailed upon to accept the imperial crown, "not through ambition, not through a vain desire of glory and power, but from a resolution to protect Christendom, to obtain justice for the oppressed, and to punish criminals†." Christians, whatever sophists calling themselves such may insinuate, can never forget that it is to Catholic kings many nations owe their protection or deliverance from the enemies who would have uprooted the faith of Christ. The kings of Spain were revered as having replaced the cross over their cities and provinces. Alphonso III. was designated as he who peopled Burgos; Alphonso VI., as he who gained Toledo; Ferdinand III., the saint, as he who recovered Seville and Cordova; Ferdinand and Isabella, as the recoverers of Granada. "Every act of the administration of Isabella," says a recent writer, who condescends to admire her, "may be said to have had reference, more or less remote, to the interests of religion." Instances of the desire, even in rulers, of suffering death in defence of a Catholic population from heretics, can be produced from history. Thus, when the people of Orvieto, in the time of Innocent III., sent to Rome to demand a governor capable of resisting the fury of certain heretics, the Romans, with the Pope's consent, gave them Peter Parentius, of a noble family. Notwithstanding youth, his judgment was mature; his spirit remarkable for its firmness and intrepidity; his heart for its gentleness and tenderness for the poor. He proceeded to Orvieto, without fearing to risk his life. He sought to elevate the morals of the people; prohibited games during Lent which disturbed peace; and exposed his person to perils in suppressing them. He took measures with the Bishop, and others, as to the best means of opposing heresy; and, having executed them, returned to Rome, with a view to prepare for death by receiving absolution from the Pope—for the heretics publicly threatened him. Filled with joy, he made his will. The tears neither of his mother nor of his wife could

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* Gerv. Tilb. Otia, in Leibn. SS. i. 884.

† Hurter, Gesch. Inn. III. i. 141.

dissuade him from returning to Orvieto, where he was soon after attacked by the Cathari, who gained over one of his servants to betray him; who, on the 21st of May, introduced them secretly into the palace, while he was at table with some of his friends. In the evening, as he was retiring to rest, they seized, gagged, and dragged him out of the city, and then menaced him with death if he did not restore the fines imposed on them, and promise to leave them in future unrestrained. He agreed to the first condition, but, refusing the latter, they killed him with their swords and poignards *. This co-operation of the ruler with the priest may be inferred from the advice which Hincmar gave to Louis III., telling him to follow the example of Charlemagne, who used to have tablets under his pillow, in order that, when he did not sleep, he might write down whatever ideas struck him as useful for the discipline of the Church, and the government of the kingdom. It may be witnessed in the thirty years' reign of Steno-Sture, in Sweden, when the golden age visited the North, as Joannes Magnus says,—"When the most prudent Archbishop James, presiding, thought of nothing, inculcated nothing, prescribed nothing, but what was conformable to the divine laws, and to the institutions of the holy fathers; and when Steno himself, the ruler, heard that pontiff advising and prescribing the best measures, as the most devoted son would hear his father; carefully providing, lest the nobles or the people, rebellious to the pontifical authority, should draw down the divine anger upon themselves or their posterity. Happy kingdom! when all things were tranquil through the Gothic regions, and all things blessed by the divine hand †." The same concord may be witnessed in the epistle of Bede to Egbert, where he says—"You have for assistant in your holy labours the king Ceolwulf, who, through love of religion, will take care to confirm whatever pertains to the rule of piety. Dissolve obligationes violentarum commutationum. Dimitte confractos in remissionem, et omnem conscriptionem iniquam disrumpe. From these words of Isaiah, learn," he continues, "that it becomes your holiness, along with our religious king, to annul the former irreligious and unjust deeds and writings of our nation, and to attend to those things which are useful to our province in regard to God and to the world; lest in our time, either religion ceasing, the fear and love of the internal inspector should be abandoned, or, the military force diminishing, there should be none to defend our borders from barbarous incursions." It was, therefore, but the expression of an ancient obligation, recognized by kings, when poor Henry II. of France said to a Churchman

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* Id. lit. xiv.

† Hist. Goth. lib. v.

at a banquet, when the guests were undecided in what order they should sit—" I have given and dedicated my right hand to the Church." Richard I., on one occasion, seeing the bishops as they sat convoked for the Crusade, said to Geoffroi, and William Bruer—" Do you see all these bishops here?" " Yes, seigneur," they replied. " Well," said the king, " if they knew how much through respect for God I fear to offend them, and with what repugnance I should do so, they would trample me under foot, like an old torne shoe*." He found, by experience, that they had different thoughts; but, in fact, during every reign, under a thousand forms, and an infinite variety of circumstances—one time under the name of gratuitous gift, another, under that of tenths—the Church, in those ages of her privileges, came to the assistance of the monarch and of the state. Reciprocally political acts were performed, avowedly in order to honour the Church of God. " King Henry I. caused to be edited," says Mathieu Paris, " the charter of liberties, to glorify that holy Church, and to secure public peace in the kingdom: copies of which charter, in number corresponding to that of the counties in England, being deposited in abbeys in each county†." " We have granted all these liberties with a view to God," says the forest charter of the year 1215. William the Conqueror's charter to St. Paul's Cathedral contains these remarkable words, which at least demonstrate that his duty as a king was known:— " For I will that the Church in all things be as free as I would my soul to be on the day of judgment." Catholicism included political measures among religious acts. Henry V., in France, reduced almost to nothing the tax on salt—" en l'honneur de la sainte-vierge‡." A religious motive gave rise even to the armorial of kings. Ferdinand and Isabella, in consequence of being much devoted to St. John the Evangelist, adopted his eagle sable, with one head, as the supporter of their common shield. What a contrast between this eagle of the Evangelist and the eagle of modern emperors and kings, borne as a type of the old Roman power! The custom of courts, inspired by Catholicism, rendered rulers familiar with the best guides; and Stow complains, after the establishment of heresy, that this was no longer the case in England. " The court," he says, " which is now-a-days much greater and more gallant than in former times, and which was wont to be contented to remain with a small company, sometimes at an abbey or priory, sometimes at a bishop's house, and sometimes at some mean manor of the king's own, is now for the most part abiding at London." Travellers, however prejudiced, when they visit the Escurial, are struck on

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1232.

† Ad ann. 1100.

‡ Rymer, t. iv. p. 11, p. 51. 4 May, 1417.

seeing the humble apartment in which Philip II. lived, reserving all his magnificence for the Church. They are affected when they descend into the small room in which he died, the 13th of September, 1598, aged seventy-two years, having been carried thither in order that his last glance might be directed to the altar. The holy Catholic customs of royal palaces have preserved the life of kings; as when Henry III., in the year 1238, on the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, being at Woodstock, had a providential escape from assassination. The wretch, who had succeeded in penetrating into the apartment of the king, ran with his drawn knife to the bed, but the king at that moment was in another room. A maid of honour of the queen happened to keep vigils that night, and was reciting her psalter by the light of a candle—for she was a holy girl, called Marguerite Biset—and it was she who, by giving the alarm, saved the king's life*.

These processions of the blessed sacrament, when the first princes of the blood supported the canopy, and the king walked carrying his taper after it, constituted no insignificant lesson, both for kings and subjects; the practical importance of which may not be so trifling as our philosophical historians would insinuate. Every locality had some tradition—that of having witnessed religion magnified as the supreme good of man, when the monarch, and the noblest of the land, were seen walking processionally with the poor. At Mount Serrat, for instance, every one had heard how, when the image of our Lady was to be removed from the old into the new Church of the abbey, the procession had attracted to that holy mountain the court and nobility of Spain; how, after the great cross, forty-three lay-brothers, fifteen hermits, and sixty-two monks walked, each with a taper; after the image, carried by four monks, the abbot following, with his assistants; and then, how the king walked humbly, carrying a lighted taper, gilt with his arms, followed by a long train of nobles—Don Francis Sandoval, Duke of Lorma; Don Gomes d'Avila, Marquis of Velado; Don Pedro Henriquez, Count of Fuentes; Don Francis des Cobos, Marquis of Camarassa, and many others; followed by ladies—as the Duchess of Lerma, the Marchioness of Sarria, and others†. Thus, to follow Catholic monarchs and their court, we have to repair to places, which of themselves can conduce to the instruction and sanctification of men. The world, opposed to faith, has sought to change this state of things: the race-course is substituted in the order of royal progresses, for the abbey and the shrine. The nation requires this. A description of the itinerary thus presents

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* M. Paris, ad ann. 1238.

† Dom Louis Montegut, Hist. de N. D. du Mt. Serrat, 10.

no holy reminiscence. It is true, some kings, professing at least the Catholic religion, may appear greedily to fall in with the transformation; and some even in ages of greatest piety, have been known to violate the sanctity of the processions. They who prefer such details may find them. But has the interest of kings and of nations been promoted by the political views which systematically effect the change? Formerly, at least, wise men, if they could have foreseen such a state of things, would not have thought so. An ancient author, treating on the duties of peasants, finds occasion for expressing his conviction, that one procession outraged might cause the ruin of a ruler. "I knew," he says, "a few years ago, a certain prince, formerly illustrious and beloved, who, having once attacked a solemn procession, never prospered afterwards, and recognized himself the cause of his sudden decline. He died suddenly, without the sacraments *." Catholicism had provided that the journeys and solemn progresses of kings and governors should be a source of instruction to them; and history relates that its prescription was not always a mere useless formality. In the ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter imperatorem, the pontiff prays, saying—"O God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, incline the ears of thy mercy to the prayers of our humility—et imperatori nostro, famulo tuo, N. —— regimen tuæ sapientiæ appone, ut haustis de tuo fonte consiliis, et tibi placeat et super omnia regna præcellat." In receiving processionally an empress or queen, the clergy sung—"Ista est speciosa inter filias Jerusalem. Sicut vidistis eam plenam charitate et dilectione in cubilibus et in hortis aromatum †." It would be very curious, and not a little corroborative of the general views which on this road are leading us to recognise the divine truth of the Catholic religion, if we were to compare these formulas with the discourses which Protestantism, or the political and social opinion of the sophists, its allies, has substituted, when nothing is omitted, in harangues replete with flattery, but a consideration of the supreme good of kings and of nations. With what justice too often might the formula for receiving the empress or the queen have been addressed to the crowned lady, faithful to the Catholic Church! Only imagine the impression which such words must have produced on all the hearers, when they were spoken to one like Marguerite, daughter of Harold, flying from the Normans after the battle of Hastings; whose exemplary life, after she became wife of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and whose holy death, were related, as Mathieu Paris says, in a book written expressly on the subject ‡.

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* De Regimine Rusticorum, &c. 85.

† Ordo ad Recip. Process. Imp. vel Reginam.

‡ Ad ann. 1067.

Inapplicable indeed they would prove, if it was a question of receiving some great personage resembling Lucifera in Spenser's "Sinfull Hour of Pryde," for, if holy bishops or the mitred abbot knelt before her, the scene he describes would be repeated :—

> "With loftie eyes, halfe loth to looke so lowe
> She thancked them in her disdainefull wise ;
> Ne other grace vouchsafed them to showe,
> Of princesse worthy ; scarse them bad arise."

But Catholicism, in composing formulas for the reception of her sovereigns, knew the characters that it alone can form. There was nothing singular in the humility of the queen-mother of Charles II. of Spain, and widow of Philip IV., whose death corresponded so well with her holy life, when being asked in her last sickness why she addressed the grandees with the titles of eminence, highness, and excellence, contrary to the royal etiquette, she replied, "I consider myself in no other light but in that of a miserable sinner, whose name is Mary Anne *." Upon the whole, therefore, we arrive at the conclusion that Catholicism actually does produce rulers who, according to its theory of wise and happy government, honour and protect the Church of God ; for many reigned, as St. Gregory of Tours describes Theodobert, "ruling their kingdoms with justice, venerating priests, endowing churches, and exalting the poor †:" like the king Gutherammus also, as the same historian describes him, using always to speak about God, or about the building of churches, or the defence of the poor, sometimes, as he adds, with the simplicity of those ages, "indulging in spiritual jokes ‡." "The human race proceeds through a valley, of which the heights are covered by the seers who direct and instruct the multitude, sometimes docile and sometimes violent, forcing them to descend and walk with them §." Catholicism abounds with the prudence that knows how to distinguish seasons and circumstances, saying, in the words of Ives de Chartres, "The apostolic sublimity teaches that concessions are to be made to the necessity of times, because, where the multitude of delinquents is great, the severity of the canons ought to be abated ‖ ;" but it is no less true, that Catholicism enables rulers to exercise with justice and consistency that circumspection and restraint against error, and against those who would propagate it to the subversion of the peace and union and happiness of the people, which many vain men now are pleased to denounce as intolerance, but which, in point of fact, did preserve in some countries many generations

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* Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c.

† Hist. lib. iii. 25.

‡ Id. lib. ix.

§ Etudes sur les Idées, &c. ii. 249.

‖ Iv. Carnot, epist. 190.

from the spiritual ruin and social misery which were elsewhere the result of renouncing it; and therefore, confining our observations to the past, it is difficult not to feel assured, that in this respect also Catholicism proved itself a source of wisdom and security both for governments and for the governed. Dreamers and poets cry out now, while resolved on using nothing but what they stigmatize,—

> " Power, like a desolating pestilence,
> Pollutes whate'er it touches ;"

but not so thought St. Augustin. " If you see a man mad in a fever running to a precipice, ought you not," he says, " to bind him, and prevent him from running in that direction? How many have we now fervent Catholics condemning their former error, who while they were Circumcellians thought that they did for the Church of God whatever they did through a restless temerity, " quicquid inquieta temeritate faciebant," who yet would not have attained to soundness unless they had been bound and constrained? But you say, " Durum est nobis traditionem parentum relinquere ;" but was it not well to rouse them from their lethargic sleep, that they might awaken to the safety of unity? But we are bound to instruct, as well as threaten: " si enim terrerentur et non docerentur, improba quasi dominatio videretur ;" and on the other hand, if they be taught and not terrified, hardened through custom, they will be slowly moved to take the way of safety. " Non omnis qui parcit amicus est ; nec omnis qui verberat inimicus." He who binds the phrenetic and he who rouses the lethargic is troublesome to both, and yet loves both *. " The Protestants," says Balmes, " evinced constant care to blacken the memory of Philip II. But why did they? Because it was he who hindered Protestantism from penetrating into Spain †." What would have become of Europe if Protestantism had entered Spain as well as France? If Philip II. had followed a different policy, the Catholic religion, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, would have existed in Spain only as a religion tolerated ; and what such tolerance means we can learn from what passed in England, and from what passes still in Prussia and Russia. Philip II., viewed in this light, becomes a great historic personage, one of those whose influence has been the most perceptible in subsequent times ‡. Catholicism, indeed, has never had but one voice re-echoing the maxim of St. Athanasius, " Piæ religionis est proprium non cogere sed suadere :" but it certainly never taught that the interests of the many should be sacrificed to the caprices of a few. " It was the

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* Epist. xlvii.

† Le Prot. comparé au Cath. ch. 37.

‡ Id. ch. 37.

secret associations of the middle ages," says Freudenfeld, "which gave rise to the inquisition. It was both a secret institution to discover more easily the conspiracies of impiety and rebellion, and a legal institution invested with public authority to repress them. It was not alone a tribunal; it was above all a countermine, and it is this point of view which perfectly explains the hatred vowed against it by the secret societies which conspire against religion and the state *." Catholicism has never dictated, never sanctioned, never refrained from denouncing cruelty in legislation and government; but many sovereigns, for desiring to protect it by using established laws, have been represented as cruel, who were on the contrary most full of the pity which angels feel for men. Modern sophists may calumniate them, but the judgment of wise and just contemporaries was not wanting to declare their innocence. Perhaps the most sublime eulogium ever pronounced upon a sovereign was that delivered by Cardinal Pole with his last breath, when he heard of the death of Queen Mary; for, with a groan raising his hands to heaven, he exclaimed, "Domine, serva Ecclesiam tuam," and then turning on his right side expired †.

During many centuries Catholicism obtained, for the institutions with which the interests of learning and piety and of the poor are inseparably associated, that protection from the civil power without which, in no age, can they ever be secure. "In the year 636," says an old historian, "the monastery of St. Gall was enriched with many gifts—etsi ex Ethnicis non deessent, qui ipsos eversos cuperent et conarentur nisi metus religiosissimi Regis prohiberet ‡." Without that fear the Gentile race is never wanting to create danger for the sanctuary; but Catholicism has words which can excite the powerful to defend it, as those of Hincmar, saying, "Hujus gloriosæ domus Dei decorem et locum habitationis gloriæ ejus fidelissime diligere et zelari debent, non solum Episcopi et sacerdotes in sedibus, sed etiam Reges in regnis et palatiis suis, et Regum comites in civitatibus suis, et Comitum vicarii in plebibus suis, et quicunque patresfamilias in domibus suis, in unum dives ac pauper, in mente et actibus suis §." So, writing to a governor, St. Augustin says, "You have uttered many things in your edict, ut te appareat in terreni judicis cingulo, non parva ex parte cœlestem rempublicam cogitare ||." "The more studiously the audacity of the perverse endeavours to undermine the state of rectitude, the more vehemently," says Ives de Chartres, "is their wicked-

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* Hist. Universelle, 500.

† Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c.

‡ Gabriel. Bucelinus, Chronolog. Constantiensis.

§ Hincmari Rhem. Epist. lib. i. c. 3.

|| Epist. lii.

ness to be resisted, in order to consult for the interest of the Christian religion *." Such maxims have been neglected, and even stigmatized, in later times; but the world's experience has verified the saying of a great French author, who observes, that "whoever has received force ought to consecrate it to the service of his fellow-creatures; that, if he leaves it idle, he is at first punished by a secret misery, and sooner or later that Heaven visits him with a fearful chastisement."

Manners too were protected by the example frequently, and always by the laws, of the ancient Catholic governments, for it was the general opinion, as Hincmar of Rheims reminded the emperor, that "nothing would so excite the anger of Almighty God, and disturb the peace of the kingdom, as a contempt for the divine law and a violation of the paternal authority, and a profanation of ecclesiastical holiness,—ut contemptus divinæ legis et conculcatio paternæ auctoritatis, et profanatio ecclesiasticæ munditiei et sanctitatis †." When a new edition of the works of Calderon was published in 1751, a priest, Don Ramire Cayorcy Fonseca, printed a treatise against the actual state of theatrical exhibitions, which sufficed to induce the magistrates of Burgos to demolish the theatre of their city, which had cost twenty thousand ducats. Catholicism laid great stress also upon the protection of morals by the example of rulers, its maxims being in accordance with the saying of the philosopher, *Οὐδὲν δεῖ πόνων οὐδέ τινος παμπόλλου χρόνου, τῷ τυράννῳ, μεταβαλεῖν βουληθέντι πόλεως ἤθη*. He has only to show by his own example the road that he wishes his subjects to follow, whether it be to virtue or to vice; he has only to praise one and blame the other, and inflict dishonour on those who refuse to obey him. There is no shorter or easier way to change the manners of a state than by the example of those who are in authority ‡. "Qualis est rector civitatis," says the sacred text, "tales et inhabitantes in eo §." What an influence on the nobility of Spain was produced by the personal character of Isabella! In royal courts Catholicism often caused to reign the greatest frugality. "Stop and dine with us," King Ferdinand was known to say to his uncle, the grand Admiral Henriquez, "we are to have a fowl for dinner to-day." Catholic political measures were often characterized by that gratitude, generosity, and honour which subjects were not slow to admire and imitate, and which are, after all, the best policy, as when Cæsar, in restoring Pompey's statues, was said by Cicero to have by that generous act consolidated his own. Men were to know that it is not their profit that does lead the

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* Ivon. Carnot, epist. xxiv.

† Hincmari Rhem. epist. i. c. 2.

‡ De Legibus, iv.

§ Eccl. x.

honour of kings; but that it was their honour that leads it. Henry III., being advised to put to death Hubert de Bourg, replied, "Hubert served faithfully my uncle Richard and my father John; and I would rather be set down as a weak king than a cruel man of blood; which I should be if his crimes, which are not proved, were to make me forget his services*." France, being at war with England, sent to Alphonso, king of Aragon, to pray that he would not seize Narbonne; and the king replied, "What my fathers did not seek from King Charles in his prosperity, I have no intention of demanding in his misfortunes." If rulers were not always under the Catholic influence in regard to their own personal conduct, they were often constrained by the force of opinion in Catholic ages, to avoid opposing the Catholic theory of government; and the moral results were unquestionably great. The people, subject to all just authority, and often finding in it examples of the true Christian life, were not so unhappy as in more recent times. Every thing respectable was respected, from the king to the lowest officer of government. "This city of London," says Fitzwilliam, "even as Rome, is divided into wards; it hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls; it hath the dignity of senators in aldermen. It hath under officers, according to the quality of causes; it hath general courts and assemblies upon appointed days. I do not think that there is any city wherein are better customs, in frequenting the churches, in serving God, in keeping holy days, in giving alms, in entertaining strangers, in solemnizing marriages, in furnishing banquets, celebrating funerals, and burying dead bodies." Marinus Siculus describes Spain with the same view to this assimilation of views and examples between governors and the governed. "All the citizens of Barcelona," he says, "followed the most virtuous manners. Nothing was ever done by them too much; but all things, both public and private, were according to reason and moderation. Their riches, therefore, never caused litigations, or strifes, or seditions: for they preferred being governed rather by reason and virtue than by laws. The nobles and military men studied to defend their country by arms; the merchants exercised their commerce with integrity, and in this respect sought not gain, but desired only to be esteemed true, faithful, and liberal men. The priests lived piously and holily, and attended with the utmost veneration to the divine worship; the other citizens applied either to the liberal or to the mechanical arts, abhorring idleness and dissipation, and loving honest industry. Therefore there was no poor man amongst them, no evil one, but all were good and rich. And hence the fame of this city was

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1232.

spread not alone through all Spain, but throughout Europe and Africa [*]." But, confining our observations to one instance of the good example set by rulers, though we may not boast of them, like Plutarch of Alexander, saying that they favoured all kinds of virtue in others, yet certainly great moral and social advantages were formerly obtained by that respect with which kings and governments of every form treated the holy men who held up before the people, in their lives and order, a model of Christian perfection. Pompey, after his victory over Mithridates, coming in great state to Athens, and visiting the philosopher Possidonius on his sick bed, would not suffer the standards and imperial insignia to be borne within his gate, to intimate, as Don Pedro Messie of Seville says, that all kingdoms and empires should obey virtue and wisdom [†]. Catholic princes transferred these honours to the man who professed and practised the true virtues and the true wisdom, saying of the monk or bishop,—

> " Nulla quidem sano gravior, mentique potenti
> Pœna est, quam tanto displicuisse viro [‡]."

When St. Peter of Alcantara was called to the court of Portugal, on his entering the palace the nobles fell on their knees before him, and kissed his habit. As he walked through the royal apartments, they raised the curtains of the different doors. The king prepared some retired chambers for him, to which he used to repair humbly for instruction. Here the man of God lived as in his monastery; and many of the courtiers, as the Dukes of Braganza and of Avere, were converted to a holy life by seeing him say mass in the chapel, while others were so moved by his fervent discourses that they became monks [§].

So anxious were kings of France to hear monks discoursing within their palaces, that we find, among the privileges conferred on them by Pope Clement V., one dispensing the latter from observing silence there—quod confessor domini regis possit dare religiosis licentiam loquendi libere. The kings of Portugal, to show their hereditary regard for St. Bernard, used to pay annually fifty gold maravedis to the convent of Alcobaze, to be thence transmitted to the abbot of Clairvaux; and their kingdom was placed under the protection of our Lady of Clairvaux. The same respect is attested by those charters granted to the order of Grandmont by Richard I., king of England, in which he says, that he grants them through the love of God—et pro stabilitate regni nostri—which is the same expression as that used by

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[*] De Reb. Hispan. lib. xiii.
[†] Les diverses Leçons, iii. 9.
[‡] Trist. ii.
[§] Marchese, Vie de S. P. d'Alcant. lib. i. 15.

St. Louis in conferring gifts on the same order*, the political maxim being then conformable to what Ives of Chartres lays down, saying, "It is perilous to disturb the places of the saints, or to disquiet those who militate in holy places†." The same views are indicated in the charter of Sanctius, beginning, "In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Sanctius, by the grace of God king of the Spaniards, seeing all Spain to be illumined by the virtues of the blessed Æmilian,—placuit animo meo, ut sicut dono supernæ pietatis non meo merito obtinueram apicem regiæ dignitatis, sic ea adjuvante amplificari intra fines regni, mihi à Deo concessi, religionem Christianitatis‡." The king of France, in 1190, decreed that, during his absence in the Holy Land, no one should be appointed to an ecclesiastical benefice without first consulting Brother Bernard, the monk of Grandmont, of the monastery of Vincennes, as the spiritual counsellor of the kingdom. And what were his qualifications? Stephen, bishop of Tournay, speaking of him to the pope, sums them up in few words, saying, "Frater Bernardus, vir simplex, et timens Deum, ac recedens à malo§."

Catholicism, deeming these to be very great qualities, did not the less supply governments with politically wise and able ministers in monks and bishops, who were willing, without any of the attractions of honours and pensions, to assist them, as when Fulbert wrote to King Robert, saying, "Si de justitia, de pace, de statu regni, de honore ecclesiæ vultis agere, ecce habetis me parvum satellitem pro viribus opitulari paratum‖." When St. Germain, bishop of Paris, died, King Chilperic gave proof of the value he set upon his services as minister by composing his epitaph. Adalard, abbot of Corby, had long been a counsellor of Charlemagne. How many evils obviated, how many benefits secured, when Clotaire was aided by St. Medard, bishop of Soissons; Theodobert, by St. Leger, bishop of Verdun; Chilperic I., by Mandulphe, bishop of Senlis; Dagobert, by St. Arnoul, archbishop of Metz, St. Dadon, and St. Eloy; Sigisbert, by Gombert, archbishop of Cologne; Clovis II., by St. Landry, bishop of Paris and St. Agilulf, bishop of Valence; Clotaire II., by Agilbert, bishop of Paris¶. "Oh, what a happy time," exclaims an old writer, "to see these just men, fearing God, reigning with kings, and with them justice, faith, truth, modesty, and all good customs of peace and war! august and holy palaces, which produced men who sought not kings, but whom kings

* Levesque, Annales Ord. Grandimontis, cent. v. 411.

† Iv. Carnot, epist. 196.

‡ Ant. de Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. i. 513.

§ Annal. Grandimontis, cent. i.

‖ Fulberti, epist. lxxxiv.

¶ Sebast. Roulliard, le Grand Aulmosnier de France.

sought—an Arnulf of Metz, a Cunibert of Cologne, a Remacle of Tongres, a Modoald of Treves *." "Under the administration of St. Léger a great peace was procured," says an ancient author, "for the whole territory of Poitiers. During the regency of St. Bathilde it was the bishops who secured the honour of the country from the fierce leudes and mayors of the palace. St. Ouen, Chrodobert, Sigoberrand, and Léger ruled then in the court." Examples are multiplied, all through the middle ages, of kings being warned by solemn religious voices from ever committing their offices of government and justice to be administered by men whom they knew to be partial and cupidinous †. St. Isidore, describing such perversion of government, says, "The figure is that of Scylla with a human face, but surrounded with dogs' heads. Thus the humanity of the prince is counteracted by the rapacity and cruelty of his ministers ‡." The Catholic ministers of state wore a different form. "If any one," says Mathieu Paris, "doubted of the ability and fidelity of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, to have his doubts put to flight, he needed only to observe the manner in which he governed the kingdom in the king's absence §."

Men engaged in political and diplomatic life might not be wholly throwing away their time by consulting some pages in the annals of religious orders, which record the employment of holy men by the government of states. There they would find how very practical was the theory of Plato, when he said that, in a country wholly composed of good men, a private station would be the object of ambition as now is a public one; and that each citizen who had regard to his own interest, would choose being happy by the cares of others rather than by labouring himself ||; for there he would perceive that it was not from seeking their own pleasure or utility that such men as Suger, Ximenes, and Fleury undertook the care of political affairs; and that, in the old Catholic ministers of states, the total abstinence of personal ambition, and a generosity which overlooks all private profit, formed one of their most prominent characteristics. Don Gaspard Prieto, thirty-eighth general of the order of Mercy, bishop of Alguer in Sardinia, being appointed by the king as viceroy in that island, in place of the Marquis of Bayonne who had died, proceeded thither, and showed such disinterestedness that he gained all hearts. As the marquis, his predecessor, had contracted great debts, the generous bishop made a present to his widow of the 9000 crowns to pay them which

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* Vit. S. Modoald.

† Rev. S. Birgit. lib. viii. c. 4.

‡ De Summo Bono, iii. 55.

§ Ad ann. 1255.

|| De Repub. lib. i.

the states always present to a new viceroy *. The political men whom Catholicism formed for the counsellors of kings are not such as Sidonius Apollinaris describes, saying, "They are quick in reproaches, slow in studies, occupied with seditions, weak in charity, robust in factions, and stable in emulations—in charitate infirmi, in factione robusti; they resemble his portrait of that Simplicius, who so answers to both parts and professions, that the republic can find in him what it admires, and the Church what she loves—ut et respublica in eo quod admiretur et ecclesia possit invenire quod diligat †." Such men were Suger and Ximenes, whose whole administration bore witness that their principle had been that which was expressed by the latter when he expired—In te, Domine, speravi. "His genius," says an historian, "of the severest order, like Dante's or Michael Angelo's in the regions of fancy, impresses us with ideas of power that excite admiration akin to terror:' and yet this same minister, we are told, "was buried amid the tears and lamentations of the people, his memory being honoured even by his enemies, and his name reverenced by his countrymen to this day as that of a saint."

Where can ground be discovered to justify modern politicians in their assertions, that the hooded ministers of the old Catholic states need not be regretted, and that political life itself, now under a contrary influence, is a healthier and more honourable existence? In the age of transition (for I will not hint at later times) Angelo Pandolfini had passed through the highest public offices, and nothing seemed to him less worthy of being sought than places of political power. And why? "Because," he says, "they are full of perils, dishonesty, and iniquity; because command is preferred to true dignity. Political life," he continues, "is that which has always pleased me least. It is a life of jealousies, injuries, pride, suspicion, disquietude, fatigue, and servitude. You are encompassed with a fog of envy, a cloud of hate, and the sport of all winds. Officers of state are public slaves. You must meet, recommend, pray one, answer another, serve this one, oppose that one, rival, insult, stoop, uncover, and give all your time to such operations, without deriving any real friendship, but rather raising infinite enmities. It is a life full of lies, traps, ostentations, vanities, and false pomps. Friendship lasts only with interest, and in time of need no one observes either his faith or his word. You are assailed with continual complaints, accusations, reproaches, blames, and seditions. Around you prowl men greedy, quarrelsome, importunate, unjust, indiscreet, turbulent, insolent. They fill your ears with sus-

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* Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 857.

† Sid. Ap. Epist. lib. vii. 9.

picions, your soul with cupidity, your mind with doubts, fear, and hatred. You must abandon your own house to serve the will and ambition of others *." Then, treating on political friends, he says, "Each wishes that his opinion should prevail; and the minister, obliged to yield to one, or to a small number, displeases a hundred. Ah! dangerous power, deceitful desire, voluntary misery, ambition which is neither fled from nor hated as it ought to be, because this servitude seems invested with honour! Oh, the folly of men, who esteem so much the being preceded by trumpets, and the walking with a baton, that they sacrifice to it their true repose and their liberty! O fools, full of vapours, of pride, of avarice, you are, after all, nothing but tyrants! they cannot suffer equals, they wish to live only to domineer and to oppress the weak, men worthier and older than themselves, and yet they wish to govern! To arrive at power they favour the wicked, they incur dangers, they expose themselves to death; they call honour complicity with the presumptuous, the arrogant, and the vain; they do not know how to live with the good. They esteem honour or justice only in proportion as they gain from them, and appear to merit more. Certes, he who, with such a mind, engages in a public employment is a detestable citizen. What can be the contentment of a public man, obliged, as he is, to show himself daily to persons who live by rapine and fraud, spies, detractors, retailers of scandal and lies, seeking only how to fill their purses †?"

But to return to ages which corresponded better with the Catholic ideal of political wisdom. Some governments, wholly ecclesiastical, were standing memorials of the service rendered by priests to secular princes. Charlemagne, agitated by a troubled conscience, applied to Theodule, bishop of the Valais, who restored to him his peace of mind. The emperor, to prove his gratitude, established him sovereign of the Valais, under the title of count; and for nearly a thousand years the country was happy under the paternal authority of its count-bishops. The wonderful castle on a rock, in the middle of the town, was the residence of these bishops; and this state of things continued to the French revolution, when, in 1789, Bonaparte overthrew the government, and established a prefect of the Simplon to replace it. A philosopher, according to Plutarch, ought always to converse with princes. The injury, at all events, would not be to the latter, if by the former we were to understand a lover of the true wisdom as produced by Catholicity, with whose counsels princely ears were to become familiar. What admirable lessons have been given to them by holy monks, bishops, and even hermits, as when St. Wolfgang the hermit, in the year 985,

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* Governo della Famiglia.

† Id.

amidst the desert rocks of Norica, became the director of the Emperor St. Henry, of whom Raderus says, "Da similes præceptores, et tales habebis imperatores *." What admirable books has Catholicity provided for kings, composed by holy men, as that by Berno, prince-abbot of Augia, dedicated to the Emperor St. Henry, in 1016, entitled, De Vera Laude Regis †, and that composed by the great Saint Peter Paschasius, of Valencia, while preceptor to Don Sancho, infant of Arragon, treating on the education of princes, which book is entitled, On the Government of Secular Princes, teaching how to conduct themselves and their subjects on the paths of God, of peace and safety ‡. St. Thomas of Aquin, Giles of Rome, Dionysius the Carthusian, Antonio de Guevara, Fleuri, Fenelon, and countless other monks and bishops, have left nothing for the instruction of princes to be supplied by any source independent of Catholicism, in which is plainest taught, and easiest learnt, what makes a nation happy, and what keeps it so.

But it is not alone piety, useful thus to government as to all things, that Catholicism produces in the rulers of the state. Justice is no less the result of its influence, when permitted to exercise its power; for, if it upholds authority, it imposes obligations on those who govern, so that at the coronation of a king the pontiff demands, "Scitis illum esse dignum et utilem ad hanc dignitatem?" When the prescribed answer is to be, "Et novimus, et credimus, eum esse dignum, et utilem Ecclesiæ Dei, et ad regimen hujus regni §." Then, after admonishing him to defend the Christian religion, the pontiff says to the king, "Justitiam, sine qua nulla societas diu consistere potest, erga omnes inconcussè administrabis . . . viduas, pupillos, pauperes ac debiles ab omni oppressione defendes. Omnibus te adeuntibus benignum, mansuetum, atque affabilem, pro regia tua dignitate te præbebis. Et ita te geres, ut non ad tuam, sed totius populi utilitatem regnare, præmiumque benefactorum tuorum, non in terris, sed in cœlo expectare videaris." From his own authority the pontiff sometimes added admonitions in the spirit of these consecrated formulas; as, for instance, at the coronation of King John, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, suiting his words to the season, when the political dangers of society were not those of later times, used these words: "Know that no one can possess the kingdom by the mere right of succession, unless he be chosen and confirmed by the whole kingdom, and elected by God, as were Saul and David; the one being made king because he was brave, and the other because he was holy and humble ||." So

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* Gab. Bucelinus, Chronolog. Constantiensis. † Id.

‡ Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 202.

§ Rom. Pont. || Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1199.

Calderon ascribes to the king, Don Pedro of Aragon, a sense of his imposed duties by the words, "This is one of the obligations of my trade; for it is a trade to be a king." "The kingdom is not for the king," says St. Thomas, "but the king for the kingdom [*]." St. Thomas, who weighs his words as precious metal, uses the most measured terms for the supreme power, saying, "qui curam communitatis habet." In his doctrine upon government, which, as Balmes observes, has been always received in the schools, no one can discover the least tendency to despotism, the least obstacle to true freedom, the least trace of flattery towards the power of the state. The meaning of the formula of "king by the grace of God," which involved no exclusive consecration of any one form of government, has been wholly lost sight of by modern democratic writers. It only expressed an origin essential to all power, and an increase of responsibility, often formally acknowledged, as in the charter to the monastery of Valuanera, beginning, "Ego Aldephonsus gratia Dei et non meis meritis Hispaniarum Rex [†]." Such is the style of Alphonso VI., who recovered Toledo.

The ancient law of Aragon was thus delivered, in words addressed to the king:—"Si contra foros aut libertates regnum a se premi in futurum contingeret, ad alium, sive fidelem sive infidelem regem adsciscendum liber ipsi regno aditus pateret; though the clause, de rege infideli, was not suffered by the Aragonese to remain, as they judged it, turpe ac indecorum [‡]." To prove that Catholicism permits not, indeed, a college of sophists or the mob, but the republic, by its solemn and legitimate power, to put down a tyrant, Balmes refers to the authority of St. Thomas [§], of Suarvez [||], of Bellarmin [¶], and of Father Marquez, in his work, El Governador Christiano, whith latter was diffused through Spain, Italy, and France. He might have remarked, too, that the right of resisting the king, if he violated the forest charter of 1215, was recognized by King John in that very charter [**]. Philip II., holding his court at Madrid, a certain preacher, in his presence, advanced in a sermon, that sovereigns had an absolute power over the persons and property of their subjects. For these words he was denounced to the Inquisition. The tribunal summoned him, pronounced the proposition contrary to wholesome doctrines, and the preacher was condemned to divers penances, and to make a public retraction

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[*] De Reg. Prin. c. xi.

[†] Ant. de Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. i. 290.

[‡] Hieron. Blanca, Aragonens. Rerum Comment. 28.

[§] ii. 2, Q. 42, art. 2, ad Tertium; and, de Regim. Prin. c. x.

[||] Disp. 13, de Vello 8.

[¶] De Rom. Pont. v. 7.

[**] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1215.

from the same pulpit; which was done with all the ceremonies of a judicial act, as is related by D. Antonio Perez.

To show what freedom was allowed in Spain under Philip II., in regard to political doctrines, Balmes cites the treatise dedicated to the king, on the republic and Christian policy, for the use of kings and princes, and of those who hold their place in the government; by Brother John, of St. Mary, barefooted friar of the province of St. Joseph, and order of St. Francis, published at Madrid in 1615; of which many Spanish editions were printed. Addressing the king, this good friar says to him, with charming frankness,—"And let no one say to you that these are things metaphysical, impracticable, or nearly impossible." With the same object also, Balmes cites the work by Father Ferdinand de Zeballos, Hieronymite, of the monastery of St. Isidore-del-Campo, on the false philosophy, as high treason against kings and magistrates; concluding with these words—"The Catholic religion loves, with the characteristics belonging to it, legitimate monarchy, which is recognized as a paternal and sovereign power, conformable to the fundamental laws of the state, a regular power with proper limits." Some English authors appear struck with the fact, that popular institutions existed in France under the ancient monarchy, and that the crown seldom, if ever, attempted to interfere with the administration of justice*. Indeed, one of them cites an ordinance of Charles V., in 1359, which provides "that the Parliament was to pay no regard to any letters or orders from the king, if they were contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm." Catholicism, also, supposes, and endeavours to secure, under every form of government, that high administrative justice with which the weak overcome the powerful.

τοῖς τοι δικαίοις χὼ βραχὺς νικᾷ μέγαν†.

"O Argos," exclaims the chorus, "I dread thy power, for God and justice are with thee,"—

δειμαίνω τὰν σὰν ἄλκαν καὶ τὸ θεόθεν‡.

When faith declines, and Catholicity is renounced, governments are in danger of falling far short of the justice which even Gentile statesmen recommended, and sometimes practised, while exercising power. If Cicero's instructions to his brother Quintus, respecting the government of his province of Asia, were followed by the prefects of modern times, some countries, that have long furnished themes for dangerous discussion, would probably

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* Forsyth. Hortensius, 22.

† Œd. Col. 880.

‡ Phœniss. 257.

have never ceased to enjoy the fruits of loyalty and peace. If their servants or dependants even had attended to his advice—"to act on their Asiatic journeys as they would on the Appian way," fewer complaints would have been heard from a devoted priesthood, and an indignant population. But when has it happened to a Catholic country under the dominion of heresy, to find all things full of clemency, of gentleness, of humanity,—"ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet, cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda, plurimum à pueritia studii fuisset et temporis?" When have its governors been enjoined to love and protect, with all their strength, those who have been confided to them by the supreme power, so as to wish ut eos esse quam beatissimos; and, however barbarous they may esteem the names, or language, or associations of the people, tamen consulere eorum commodis et utilitati, salutique servire*? The Catholic Church declares, as on the second Sunday of Lent, that justice is for all times, for all circumstances. Beati qui custodiunt judicium et faciunt justitiam in omni tempore. The best and most honest statesman, who is not under the influence of Catholicism, declares in Parliament that such views are visionary. "People at home," he says, "might, if they liked, amuse themselves by laying down theories of international morality; but, nevertheless, he fears that there is some great principle at work when civilization and refinement come in contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible always to attend to these doctrines in practice—some uncontrollable principle, which makes it impossible for us to act on the principles which we laid down for our intercourse with nations on a footing with ourselves." Accordingly, in the new world, where Protestantism entered, the original races were exterminated or driven out; while, under Catholic governments, which, as in the instance of the directions given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus, on his second voyage, enjoin "the illumination of the poor heathens, to abstain from all annoyance, and to treat them well and lovingly, maintaining a familiar intercourse with them, rendering them all the kind offices possible, and chastising, in the most exemplary manner, all who should offer the natives the slightest molestation †"—they, after the persecutions caused by avarice, the deadly foe of Catholicity, had ceased, were recognized as constituting an important class of the population. The minister might have added, that there was such a principle, also, when stronger and weaker nations came into contact—as, perhaps, within that very empire itself, which in theory would never admit injustice; but, uncontrollable as he may consider it to be, Catholicism has unceasingly attempted to limit its effects. "The

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* Epist. lib. i.

† Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 155.

best philosophy for a prince," says an old historian, "allowing of no exceptions, is to know how to dispense justice to his people*." So in the Spanish poem, beginning "Dia era de los Reyes," Donna Chimena says to Ferdinand the Great—"A king who does not execute justice," to which the weak, the unprotected, and the miserable have the first claim, "ought not to hear mass in a consecrated place, for he does not deserve to be present at it;"—words which evince intrepidity, like that of the Countess of Arundel, widow of the Earl Hugues, when she reproached Henry III. to his face, for his injuries inflicted on the Churches, and on the liberty of the English people†." The modern politicians, who cry out year after year for fresh reforms, all alike pronounced ineffectual as soon as gained, might learn the best means of securing their object, by attending to the prayer of the Catholic Church on holy Saturday, when she beseeches Him of incommutable virtue, and the eternal light, to carry on the work of human salvation in a more tranquil manner by the effect of a perpetual ordination, adding—"totusque mundus experiatur et videat dejecta erigi, inveterata renovari, et per ipsum redire omnia in integrum à quo sumpsere principium, Dominum nostrum;" for Catholicism, while sanctioning and invoking true reforms, would actually inspire in authority a desire of fulfilling all just governmental obligations. "You charge me by your letter," says the Bishop Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Pedro of Acunme, count of Buendie, "to pray that God may vouchsafe to grant you grace, as much to save your soul as to enable you to govern the new estates which have fallen to you." How Catholic and noble is the character of many feudal rulers of the middle ages, who knew that, "if the vassal is bound to the seigneur, the seigneur," as Mathieu Paris says, "is also bound to the vassal†." Truly it was well for those who were subjects to such a ruler as that glorious, and, as he was styled, invincible duke, Pepin de Landen, the justice and gentleness of whose government gained for him the love and respect of the people whom his sword defended. Mayor of the palace under Clotaire II., minister of his son Dagobert, to whom he showed himself a wise and fearless counsellor, he died in 647, and was buried, as one of a holy family, in the convent of Nivellas, founded by his wife Itta, who had retired to it with her daughter St. Gertrude. It would be long to cite proof of the justice of Catholic kings, acting by free impulse, or following the advice of religious men, or in compliance with the decree of the Holy See. Alfonso VI., king of Castile, after taking Toledo from the Moors, went to the kingdom of Leon, leaving the

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* Pierre Mathieu, Hist. de Hen. IV.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1252.

government of the city to the queen and to Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, who, in his absence, took possession of the chief mosque, and celebrated mass in it. The Moors complained of violated oaths; and the king, on hearing of it, was so indignant, that he threatened both the queen and the archbishop with death*. What would he have thought of suppressing monasteries in violation of treaties? Philippe de Valois, at Noyon, in 1339, ordered his executors to send deputies through the province to make restitution for whatever injury had been done by his officers†. Philip II. declared, in his latter days, that he had never done wrong or injustice to any one, excepting through ignorance or false impressions‡. The confessors of Philippe-le-bel, being troubled, as they well might be, about the conscience of that king, in consequence of the depreciation of the coin, which injured so many persons, wrote to Pope Clement V. to consult him, who judged that restitution was due to all foreigners—which was transmuted to alms; but, "for his exactions, burdens, and extortions inflicted on Churches and prelates, the papal bull, on this occasion, grants full remission." "In the plenitude of apostolic power," says the Pope, "we wholly remit and grant this, and we absolve you from all restitution to these ecclesiastic persons; but, with respect to the extortions from the Jews and other usurers, the restitution which would have been due, if the riches had not been gained by usury, we commute to alms, to be determined by your confessor. But to thee, beloved son, we suggest, with paternal affection, beseeching thee, by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, that recognizing the sincere benevolence of thy holy mother the Church towards thee, thou wilt henceforth study to revere and honour her the more, and refrain thy hands from further devastations. Let not the facility of pardon, or the immensity of paternal favour, give thee daring or incentives to sin any more in this manner; for, if (what Heaven forbid!) this should be the case, thou wilt have to fear the sentence of that tremendous Judge, who is terrible with the kings of the earth."

Though Innocent III. was overjoyed by obtaining the consent of the kings of Castille and Aragon to join in the crusade, he would not consent that the latter, in pursuance of the advice of his counsellors, should make use for the purpose of the adulterated money coined before the death of his father. "If you were aware of this adulteration at the epoch of your coronation, you ought," he says, "to confess your crime to the Bishop of Saragossa, and do penance; if you were not aware of it, I advise you

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* Roderic Santius, Hist. Hisp. iii. c. 29, ap.

† Sebast. Roulliard de Melun, Le Grand Aulmosnier de France, 242.

‡ Pierre Mathieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. i.

to coin good money in your father's name, in order to prevent the injury which would result from this false circulation, and keep your oath." Hurter, after citing these words, demands, "Ought men ever to have declaimed against an influence which thus resists the power of princes for the good of the people*?" Catholicism denounces injustice in government, and produces men who have the courage to admonish kings and nations. It is not every system of opinions or philosophy that can enter the lists with it in this respect.—

Ταρβῶ μὲν εἰπεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐλευθέρους
ἐς τὸν τύραννον,

says the old chorus. "One cannot speak too humbly, too reverentially to kings," says an historian of Henry IV.: "one should use words of silk, as Parisatis used to say." It is true such holy persons as Marina de Escobar have a great repugnance, as Father Andrea Pinto Ramirez says, "to disclose to public men presiding over the republic the celestial injunctions they receive; for of these rulers," continues the good father, "some more humane and civil will speak of good intentions and holy zeal, but no knowledge of business which is possessed by statesmen and governors—others will denounce feminine scruples, dreams and delusions of weak heads, as the frauds of artful minds, or deceits of the devil. All, even religious men and fearing God, conclude that the public government is to proceed by ordinary rules, exclusive of extraordinary revelations; others again, of hard, crafty minds, and little prone to piety, are all occupied with turning over books and writing books, without solitary prayers and daily conversation with God. Such men ridicule divine admonitions, call those who approve of them blessed; but they will believe nothing on others' report, probably from not enduring that, while they lead good lives, and bear such labours for the Church, God should not manifest to them rather than to some cloistered unknown religious person, or old women hidden in a corner†." Nevertheless, the Catholic Church is never without fitting instruments to effect, if her influence be admitted, the governmental good she seeks. Cornelius à Lapide relates, that in the kingdom of Aragon it was formerly the custom for the states assembled in council to choose a confessor for the king, and that his majesty had not in his power to do him so elected any office, either good or ill, in order that his confessor might boldly reprove him as justice might require. Philosophy does not supply such aid to nations when each citizen, supposing himself the supreme

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* Gesch. Inn. III. i. 249.
† Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. ii. lib. ii. c. 8.

chief, it puts in the universal heart the aspiring flame of golden sovereignty. The eloquence of the Church and of the world might, in this respect, be distinguished in the words of the Roman orator, "Hæc est gravium hominum atque magnorum; illa quasi assentatorum populi, multitudinis, levitatem voluptate quasi titillantium*." "If there are kings in the world," says Fléchier, in his Panegyric of St. Louis, "it is not to receive like idols the incense and vows of their subjects." If there are republics, they cannot rest on such a foundation as that principle which implies that the popular will constitutes justice. Catholicism left not the injustice of the falling empire without solemn and severe admonitions. "What," exclaims Salvien, "we call rebels, we call detestable those whom we have compelled to be guilty! For what else has made them what they are but our iniquities, the improbity of our judges, the proscriptions and rapine of our collectors†?" The same voice was heard on all fitting occasions throughout the long course of the middle ages. The great St. Léger, deprived of sight, standing at the gate of his monastery, spoke to Ebroin, who had blinded him, in these words: "Nos quidem hæc digna patimur quia peccavimus Domino: sed major tamen ejus clementia est, qui nos dignatus est ad tantam gloriam vocare. Tu vero miser, qui tantam injuriam irrogas Francorum genti, te ipsum potius ulcisceris, dum aliis vitam auferre cupis. Multos quidem decepisti, et à paterno solo exulare compulisti, at tu ipse magis exuleris quandoquidem et temporalem et æternam gloriam cito perdes‡." Far from all spirit of a factious or ambiguous opposition, the clergy could speak with the confidence of which Ives de Chartres is so noble a representative. "It is for the integrity of the kingdom," he says, "and the tranquillity of the Churches that we have sought to provide; therefore, to envy or pride we must ascribe it, if any one should derogate from a useful and honest action, which can neither be reproved by reason, nor nullified by custom, nor condemned by law §." And what were the arms of such men? Prayers to Heaven. In what did the strength of this Catholic opposition consist? In confidence that they would be heard by God. So, writing to the Countess Adela, he enforces his counsel by concluding thus—"For it is to be feared lest the groans of the servants of God should come to his ears, and lest they who find no mercy from you, may shut against you the door of mercy ||." And to another he uses the same argument in more direct terms—"For if all this you despise, know then," he says, "for certain, that the Church, with a contrite and humble heart, having assembled all

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* Cicero de Off. ii. 18.
† De Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. 6.
‡ Ant. de Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. ii. 384.
§ Ivon. Carnot, ep. 189.
|| Ep. 187.

her faithful subjects, will make a cry daily before the body and blood of the Lord, and the pledges of the saints, against all the perpetrators of this evil, and against those who consent to it; and for this purpose she will invite all the neighbouring bishops, with the churches subject to them; and this I say, consulting for your reputation and honour, seeking nothing from your hands but justice *." Catholicism, in fact, is ever nourished by the ancient traditions of the martyrs, in relation to the temporal power. It forgets not their style, as instanced in the reply of Valerien to the prefect—"Quid enim vos estis? aut quid principes vestri? homunciones estis, tempore vestro nati, tempore vestro expleto morituri; tantam Deo reddituri rationem quantum summæ vobis tradidit potestatis †." The Church of the middle ages, like the Church of the nineteenth century, had no other language. "Exurge, Domine, non prævaleat homo, is the clamour," says Rupert, "of every elect vessel, against the strong one armed, keeping his house, and, before the coming of one stronger than himself, possessing his goods in peace ‡." Of this stronger one coming, the clergy relate instances to give efficacy to their warning. "Not long since," says a consoler of the poor, "a certain prince, who inhumanly oppressed the rustics with extraordinary contributions, died suddenly, finishing his life without the sacraments, like a dog: and I have known other examples §." Sometimes, however, they appealed to the lofty sentiment of right which deemed justice inseparable from a legitimate domination. Henry III. had an angry discussion with the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem of Clerkenwell, in the course of which he declared that he would take away the charters which had been formerly given to him; but the prior feared not to reply, lifting up his head, 'How say you, seigneur king? God forbid that such an outrageous and absurd sentence should proceed out of your mouth! As long as you observe justice you will be king, and no longer ||." In the worst times of later date, when, in consequence of the monarchal despotism to which heresy gave occasion, when the people had almost entirely lost the right of intervention in public affairs, ecclesiastics were those, as Balmes observes, who spoke to kings with the greatest liberty, denouncing the abuses of government.

But let us observe some features belonging to the governmental justice which the Catholic Church endeavours to secure for the people. A practical character then, as opposed to the dreamy works of men without faith to guide them, is stamped on the social edifice which Catholicism forms and inspires. "A

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* Ep. 179.

† Acta S. Cæciliæ.

‡ De Divin. Officiis, lib. iv. c. 12.

§ De Regimine Rusticorum, 45.

|| Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1252.

government," says Palmieri, "should consult not on the end but on the means, as physicians do not consult upon health, but on the method of acquiring it. So the council should not deliberate on peace, but on the means of obtaining it*." Confidence in the result of wise measures will also distinguish it, as its rulers can then be reminded that they do not administer that part of the republic in "qua fortuna dominetur," as Cicero says, "sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia†." Catholicism inspires in governments a sense that their chief obligation is to secure protection and peace. "Always," says St. Augustine, "will the evil persecute the good, and the good persecute the evil—the one injuring unjustly, the other consulting for their interest by discipline—the one savagely, the other temperately—the one through cupidity, the other through charity‡." "It is to be noted indeed," says St. Bruno, "that the Lord does not desire that all the thoughts or counsels of the nations which He reprobates should be dissipated, for He will permit some of them to be effective, as those which conduce to the utility of the Church by persecution§." But Catholicism no less supposes, as essential to all good government, the office of protecting the spiritual and temporal interests of human society. Again, observe the pacific character of Catholic government. We read in the ancient records of Pagan Rome, that the divine worship and the habitual observances of religious exercises were the first basis of Numa's rule. "I have not the qualities for a king," he used to say; "my affections are a great love for repose and study, an innate taste, a violent passion for peace, for exercises foreign to war, for the assemblies of men who wish to honour the gods, to take innocent pleasures together, to cultivate the ground and rear flocks." During his pacific rule, all the neighbouring cities seemed to breathe a salutary air from a pure and gentle wind, which came from Rome, operating a change in their manners, and inspiring them with a desire of being governed by wise laws, and of living in peace with their children, cultivating their lands and honouring the gods, passing their days amidst joyful feasts with sweet cordiality." Can any one read these words of Plutarch, and not feel struck with amazement at the image which they represent of a government, as if typical and prophetic of Catholicity, when an air from Rome changed the manners of the world, and kings and rulers became as fond as Numa was said to be of exchanging war for "walks through groves, and solitary places, and consecrated fields"—when men besought the angel of peace that all things might be peaceable, saying, with St. Chrysostom, that "peace was their nurse and their mother"—when those prayers were

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* La Vita Civile.

† Epist. i.

‡ Ep. xlviii.

§ S. Brun. in Ps. xxxii.

offered daily up, as Salvien says, "to fulfil the apostle's wish,—ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni castitate [*]"—when nations expected from rulers and magistrates the protection and peace which Catholicity required, saying to them,—

> "Keep us in safety, and the chairs of justice
> Supplied with worthy men! plant love among us,
> Throng our large temples with the shows of peace,
> And not our streets with war!"

The need of immense expenditure being thus removed, Catholicism then secures for the people exemption from those burdens which are so sure to oppress them whenever its influence is no longer dominant. Catholicism indeed reconciles the people to pay just tribute as a religious duty, which even a sense of their own interests would prove to be expedient, as when Cicero says,—"Let Asia consider what it would suffer from domestic discord and foreign war if not under the Roman empire; and how that empire cannot be maintained without taxes, in paying which it provides for its own peace." But it is no less certain, that it would place limits to fiscal exactions, where modern notions would pronounce them to be impossible. "For what reason do the people pay tribute to their princes," asks Antonio de Guevara, "if it be not merely in order that they may deliver them from enemies, and defend them from tyrants [†]?" A ruinous taxation never emanated from the Catholicity of a government. Rome, and every ecclesiastical state, set an example to princes in this respect. During the pontificate of St. Pius V. the taxes levied on goods entering and leaving were either suppressed or reduced. Though he had to struggle with great difficulties, arising from the want of adequate revenue, he never consented to any increase of taxes proposed to him. The holy see formally prohibited the oppression of any Christian people by excessive contributions. In 1207, when King John imposed a tax of a thirteenth on all property in England, "every one," says Mathieu Paris, "murmured: but one man dared to resist, and that was Geoffroi, archbishop of York; and he only did so by flying from England, and pronouncing anathema on all who levied it in the province of York [‡]." "It is allowable, sire," said the venerable Palafox, in his Memorial to the king of Spain, "to make this delicate observation; that the Divine Majesty does not say, Reges gentium à quibus capiunt tributum, but à quibus accipiunt, by which word we understand the gentleness and sweetness with which the payment of taxes should be always enveloped, in order to assuage and temper the bitterness of the tribute itself. It is

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[*] De Gubernatione Dei, lib. i.

[†] L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 960.

[‡] Ad ann. 1207.

from this word of our Lord that the Catholic crown, ever pious, has received the holy doctrine, in virtue of which your majesty, and your illustrious predecessors, have never permitted a tax to be levied without first obtaining the consent of the kingdom." Philippe de Commines remarks, that the same custom prevailed in France until the reign of Charles VII., who, in a great necessity, suppressed the ancient usage.

In early times the abolition of cruel levies, which rendered parents unable to nourish their children, was obtained by holy persons invested with power. In France the ancient customs which imposed ruinous exactions, according to the pitiless fiscality of the Roman law, were made to cease by St. Bathilde, who came thus to the assistance of the population living under the ancient Pagan laws *. The Catholic Church had so impressively taught the sinfulness of imposing oppressive burdens on the people, that when Chilperic having levied new taxes, inundations and earthquakes succeeding, even the atrocious Frédégonde recognized the criminality of that action. Her eldest son, Chlodobert, falling sick, she advised the king to change his conduct in regard to the people and the poor, which she believed had drawn on them the divine wrath. "Of what use," she asked, "to accumulate treasures, when we shall have no posterity to inherit them? Let us burn these odious registers, and let the revenues which sufficed to your father Clotaire suffice to us." Saying this, she threw the lists and registers of the new taxes into the fire, and invited the king to do the same; and, seeing him hesitate, she added, "What detains you? Do what I have done, and, if we lose our beloved children, let us at least escape hell." Under the same impressions, in the Romancero beginning, "Senor rey Don Sancho Abarca," Don Guevara gives the prince this advice as the summary of all his lessons, "Succour widows, protect orphans, and do not impose taxes on the people beyond what they can bear. I have done my part; may the peace of God be with you."

As interceders for the people against the exactions of the state, we find, throughout the middle ages, many persons whose only authority arose from the respect inspired by their holy virtues. Thus at one time, when the king of Sweden wished to levy great taxes on his subjects, in order to pay off his debts, St. Bridget prevailed on him to desist, giving her two sons to be pledges for him, that he might not offend God and his subjects †. "The king," she says, "may then be said to love his people, if there be no cruel exactors and collectors set over the community, and the people be not loaded with new inventions and

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* D. Pitra, Hist. de St. Léger.

† Prolog. Dom. Alphonsi, in lib. Rev. S. Birg. c. iii.

impositions of taxes. Nevertheless, to keep off the infidels, the king may humbly seek assistance from the people and the community if there be a necessity; but let him beware lest that necessity should be suffered to pass for a custom and a law. Let the king study also to remove customs which are contrary to the salvation of souls *." So also Marina d'Escobar relates, that on the first of December she had a vision, in which God showed her how grievously He was offended by the government of these kingdoms, which acts often so contrary to the divine will—sometimes without evil intention, causing battles which ought to be avoided; and that the divine voice said to her, that the people ought to be relieved from tributes, and that less money should be expended in things superfluous; and that she invoked the divine majesty, beseeching it to pardon these sins and to find a remedy †.

Now, in all these passages, we have nothing but the constant counsels of Catholicism; whereas, if we turn from it, we find every where the diabolic morality addressing governments, in words like those of Timon,—

> ——— "There's gold to pay thy soldiers,
> Make large confusion; and, thy fury spent,
> Confounded be thyself."

History however proves that the former often prevailed with rulers, and that the burdens of the people were in consequence diminished. The Emperor Theodosius I., even as a preparation for a great war, his faith increasing with age, and reckoning more on the assistance of God than on the power of men, diminished the taxes ‡; which example Cardinal Baronius proposes as a guide to all Christian sovereigns §. Recesvinthe, king of Spain, refused to persevere in levying the taxes which his predecessors had imposed, saying, that he would take nothing from his people but what they voluntarily offered, which is supposed to be the origin of the gratuitous gift. Sometimes whole districts were delivered from fiscal burdens through reverence for the local saint. The people of Tours, out of respect for St. Martin, were exempted from paying taxes in the time of King Guntheramnus ||. Catholic ministers of state were even found to take the burdens from the people on themselves. "Many a pound of mine own proper store," says the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, "because I would not tax the needy com-

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[*] Lib. Rev. S. Birg. Cœlest. Imper. ad Reges, lib. viii. c. 6.
[†] P. ii. lib. ii. c. 9.
[‡] Lib. xxiii. Cod. Theod. de Annon. et Trib.
[§] Ad ann. 393.
[||] S. Greg. Turonens. Hist. lib. ix.

mons, have I dispersed to the garrisons, and never asked for restitution." Catholicity forms men capable of making personal sacrifices in order to relieve the public treasury, and save expenses that would press upon the king and on the people. Brantôme remarks, that by the wish to economize 1200 francs for his king, the Duke of Guise caused his own death; for when De Serre, the commissary-general, remonstrated with him for not rebuilding the bridge of Saint-Mesmin, which would be a great comfort for him, enabling him to have his escort going and returning every day to Portereau, during the siege of Orleans, the duke replied to him, "Epargnons l'argent de nostre roy. Il en a assés affaire ailleurs. Tout luy est bien de besoin; car un chascun le pille et le mange de tous costés. Nous nous passerons bien de ce pont; et moy, mais que j'aye mon petit bateau, c'est assés." So passing on the fatal evening, with only one attendant in the boat, after landing on the other shore, Poltrot found the desired opportunity. In fine, all measures of state, with respect to the public revenue, are adopted through a religious motive if Catholicism prevails, recalling the words of Nehemias, governor of the land of Juda under Artaxerxes, when he said, "The former governors that had been before me were chargeable to the people, and took of them in bread and wine, and in money every day forty sicles; and their officers also oppressed the people. But I did not so for the fear of God. I did not require my yearly allowance as governor; for the people were very much impoverished *."

In general, those who love mild paternal government must feel, unless grievously misled by the Protestant writers on history, a secret link that binds them to the Catholic Church, which has always desired to invest dominion, under every form, with that character, distinguishing justice and prudence from oppression and arbitrary violation of law. The Catholic state wisdom, and the political school opposed to it, are both represented in that passage of the book of Kings, where, the people having remonstrated, the counsel of the old men, the ancient counsellors of his father Solomon, gave counsel to King Roboam in these words, "If thou wilt yield to this people to-day, and condescend to them, and grant their petition, and will speak gentle words to them, they will be thy servants always. But the young men that had been brought up with him said, Thus shalt thou answer the people who have asked to be eased of their burdens, 'My father put a heavy yoke upon you, but I will add to your yoke.' So, when all the people came on the appointed day, the king answered them roughly, leaving the counsel of the old men, and speaking to them according to the counsel

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* 2 Esdras v.

of the young men. And the king condescended not to the people, for the Lord was turned away from him *." Inordinate self-love declares, that rigour is necessary to maintain subjects in their obedience, and so seeks by terror and penalty to prevent the faults of rulers from being corrected. "Frater meus cecidit vos flagellis, ego autem cædam vos scorpionibus." Such is the commentary on the above passage by the old Catholic author, who contrasts the Christian with the diabolic morality †.

It was much, and perhaps more than one had a right to expect, to hear the exhortations of the wise Gentiles in advocating mildness in the government of men. "Nothing so deformed," says Cicero, "as anger in a ruler, acerbity of nature in power—nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturæ adjungere. It is said," he adds, admonishing a governor, "men have occasion to desire your humanity, when you are moved by the perversity and improbity of others." Admirable counsels! but what are they, after all, in point of effective strength, if compared with that great voice of the Catholic Church, pronouncing, age after age through every district of the Christian world, solemn warnings like those of St. Isidore, where he says, "Let all who preside over the people hear, that for all temporal sufferings which they inflict on the people they will burn in everlasting fire, as Isaiah witnesseth, saying, 'Iratus sum super populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tua: non posuisti eis misericordiam, sed aggravasti jugum tuum valde. Descende in pulvere, sede, tace, et intra in tenebras.' Therefore—magis mala facientibus quam mala patientibus dolere debemus. God by the evil wills of some operates much good for others; for the will of malignant men could never be fulfilled unless God gave power ‡." What, it may be again asked, are the lessons of philosophy, or the wisest maxims of diplomatic science, if compared with some of these few simple words, which issued from the Catholic pulpit when a Guevara preached before a Charles V., saying, "Though princes have their kingdoms full of cruel judges to punish human faults, their councils full of officers to accuse excesses against their majesty, their palaces full of pleasant fools to tear to pieces the reputation of others, their courts sowed with treasurers who collect and keep an account of their tributes, they ought nevertheless to think of the day when they will have to give an account themselves, in detail, of their own wicked lives §."

But let us hear the especial lessons of mild government supplied by Catholicity, and first the holy canons, as collected by

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* 3 Kings xii.

† Ægid. Gabrielus, Specimin. Mor. Christianæ, &c.

‡ D. Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 61.

§ L'Horloge des Princes, lib. i. 149.

Burchard. "Since in the Church," says the council of Chalons, "there are men of different conditions—noble and ignoble, servants, peasants, and others of all grades—it is right that whoever has authority over them, whether clerics or laics, should act with clemency towards them, and treat them compassionately, whether in regard to requiring labour from them, or in demanding tribute; and let them know that they are their brethren, and that they have one common Father, God, to whom they cry, Pater noster qui es in cœlis; and one mother, the holy Church, which bore them again in the sacred font; therefore a most merciful discipline of government must be extended to them*." Let us next hear the episcopal voice, represented by Ives de Chartres:—"Again and again I advise you," he says, "moved by the charity with which I love you, that you would defer whatever harsh measures you may intend until after a legitimate discussion, lest you should repent having done through rash anger what you would not have done if you had followed reason†." Let us hear the cloistral counsellor, cited by a prince himself, of which St. Bernard is the representative:—"Public ministers," he says, "should be men, qui vulgus non spernant sed doceant, divites non palpent sed terreant, pauperes non gravent sed foveant, minas principum non pareant sed contemnant‡." Let us hear the mystic charge to the recluse, as when the divine voice says to St. Bridget—"Let these kings of France and England lay aside their intolerable exactions, and their fraudulent inventions, and let them love the souls of their subjects. Deponant intolerabiles exactiones et fraudulentas adinventiones suas, et diligant animas subditorum suorum§." Let us hear, in fine, the Catholic population, whose association of mild goodness with the authority of rulers is expressed in the ancient proverb of the French, which says—

"N'est pas sires de son païs
Qui de ses hommes est haïs‖."

St. Isidore writes admirably to the same effect, in treating de Justitia Principum, and de Patientia Principum. "Dedit Deus," he says, "principibus præsulatum pro regimine populorum, et illis eos præesse voluit cum quibus una est eis nascendi moriendique conditio. Prodesse ergo debet populis principatus, non nocere; nec dominando premere, sed condescendo consulere, ut vere sit utile hoc potestatis insigne et dono Dei pro tuitione

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* Burchard, Decret. ex Concil. Cabillon. 51 ap. et lib. xv. c. 32.

† Iv. Carnot, epist. cxxi.

‡ Le Prince de Conty, Les Devoirs des Grands, xiii.

§ Revelat. S. Birg. iv. c. 105.

‖ Le Roux de Lincy, Le Livre des Proverbes F.

utantur membrorum Christi—membra quippe Christi fideles sunt populi[*]." Again, enforcing on government the duty of patience, he says—"Many commit the crime of conspiracy against princes; but God, wishing to prove the clemency of princes, permits them to conspire; and yet deserts not princes; for he turns the evil of the subject to the good of the prince, who with wonderful patience pardons them. To render evil for evil is justice; but he who adds clemency to justice will not render evil, but on the contrary good, for the evil of crime against himself[†]." The preacher of Charles V. would have the king set an example even of the tenderest charity for all classes. "The prince," he says, ought, above all his subjects, to take pleasure in helping the poor, in favouring the banished, in visiting hospitals, and frequenting the Churches[‡]." It is not necessary to engage in long debate with the modern writers, who systematically represent the ancient governments as oppressive, and destructive of the freedom and the just rights and the happiness of the people, subject to them; for nothing is clearer from history, and from experience, than that Catholicity has formed kings and rulers who realized the type of mild government, proposed and enjoined by the Catholic religion; and that, to find examples of such government, we must seek them, to use ancient words, "à majoribus nostris, qui non ficte et fallaciter populares, sed vere et sapienter fuerunt[§]." "It is a rare, but infinitely precious good," says Plato, "when the gods inspire in men who guide a state, either by power, or riches, or birth, the love of a just and temperate life, or of that character of Nestor, who surpassed all men in moderation[‖]." Christendom possessed, in former ages, no region in which that happiness was not produced by the influence of divine faith. Every nation could point among its line of rulers to one who merited the praise bestowed by Pindar upon Hiero,—

——— Βασιλεὺς
πραῢς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς,
ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ [¶].

A Stephen, a Henry, a Lewis, an Edward, an Isabella (for these names must be as often repeated as we have to speak of just government) nourished and exercised on imperial and royal thrones, in age and difficulties, the sentiment which poets ascribe to youth, prompting it to cry,—

——— "I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies

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[*] De Summo Bono, lib. iii. 49.

[†] Id. iii. 50.

[‡] L'Horloge des Princes, i. 146.

[§] Cicero pro Domo sua.

[‖] De Legibus, lib. iv.

[¶] Pyth. 3.

> Such power ; for I endure not to behold
> The selfish, and the strong, and haughty, tyrannise
> Without reproach or check."

They were opposed, but they knew how to practise perfection while they wore a crown. The Emperor Theodosius declared that he would pardon his political enemies. "If our name and government," he said, "be defamed by any one, we do not wish him to be pursued according to the laws ; for, if his offence be through levity and indiscretion, we ought to despise it ; if through a blind folly, we ought to have compassion ; and, if through an evil will, we ought to pardon it[*]." They had power, and riches, and privileges ; but the people, observant of their actions, recognized no partial dispensation of God's favour in such an ordination of human society. Jacoponus used to say, "I enjoy the kingdom of France more than the king of France ; for I enjoy its good, and honour, and commodity ; and he has this pleasure along with much solicitude and great labours, which I have not[†]." "We submit ourselves," said a German emperor, "to voluntary labours, in order to prepare repose for others." Monarchy, indeed, as De Haller observes in his great work on the restoration of political science, supposes the exaltation and surpassing wealth of some one family, possessing abundant treasures, wide domains, many palaces. In France, under the two first races, there were three hundred and fifty royal habitations, of which the names are now unknown ; but though it may never have occurred to the sophists to remark it, and though it is not in histories you can expect to find traces of it, but by mixing with the crowd, the people, generation after generation, may have felt, that from the exaltation of some one family every other family derived a certain sense of being itself exalted ; as, in point of fact, the existence of every other was protected by the principle which established its pre-eminence. The French sophists say now triumphantly, If you had a right to overthrow the monarchy, you have a right to overthrow the family ; and, perhaps, it is not by a process of logic that you can refute them. Catholicity, however, is not reduced to the dilemma; for it maintains the holy inviolability of a just domination. As in a religious sense the house was sanctified by the type of the holy family, so may its temporal condition have been raised in its own estimation, (and whatever elevates the thoughts of men above the feelings of animals is so much gain,) by considering its own members severally represented amidst the royal dignity ; which

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[*] Lib. i. c. Theod.

[†] Bucchius, Liber Aureus Conformitatum Vitæ b. Pat. Francisci ad Vitam J. Christi, 73.

in the Catholic state of civilization leaves the distinctions of nature supreme, as in the mind of the learned Valencian, Luis Vives, who describes the four daughters of Ferdinand and Isabella, in a treatise entitled, not on queens and princesses and "junior members of the nobility," but simply "De Christiana Femina." The king's daughter was every boy's sister; the little prince, every sister's brother; the holy dowager, every family's venerated grandmother. Amidst the atmosphere of hatred and envy which now encompasses so many, whose only oracles are the newspapers, which teach them how to despise all but themselves, we cannot fully enter into the feelings of a Catholic society, existing time out of mind in charity, peace, and order, according to the desires of the Church; but certainly that natural pre-eminence yielded on the thrones of Christendom to the domestic over mere political relations, thereby inspiring men with a sense of the importance of the former; for at the coronation of a king consort the Roman Pontifical, unlike the decree of secular assemblies, would make no distinction which could interfere with the order of domestic relations in a common family—that Christian order prescribed in royal habitations, which was so imposing, that Hincmar esteemed it an honour to have not only read, but transcribed, with his own hand, the book composed by Adalard, abbot of Corby, de Ordine Palatii, the fragments of which remaining are so calculated to make us bitterly regret the loss of nearly the whole book—might very naturally suggest a train of thought more favourable to kingly state than that which the glory of the Roman senate inspired in St. Fulgentius, when on first beholding it he exclaimed—"If in this world such dignity of honour belongs to those loving vanity, what will be the honour and glory conferred upon the saints contemplating truth?" For all this indicates how many Catholic kings loved truth, and how their power was exerted in protecting its earthly developments. In Segovia, in the old Gothic palace of Alcazar—so venerable, with its vast towers, once the residence of the kings of Spain—is a great hall, where stand fifty-two statues, as large as the life, of all the ancient kings of Oviedo, Leon, and Castile, from Froyola I., in 760, to Queen Jane, who died in 1555, when the Austrian dynasty commenced. There, to use the words of an old English judge, speaking of a high and noble dignity, that had continued many ages, descents, and generations, in one family, "I suppose there is no man, at least no one that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection would stand to the continuance of such a race, and would take hold of a twig or a twine thread to uphold it." In fine, Catholicism, associating thus in the minds of men the dignity of a royal house with the security of each family in private life, renders, consequently, the reigning family dear and

venerable, even to those who may be the most struck with its exaltation above their own estate; and accordingly, the love which Catholicism inspired in men for the just and mild rulers who governed them may be proposed here, as furnishing the last signal directing us to the truth, from which alone such social and political benefits can ever flow. King Don Alphonso, the Catholic, was so regretted at his death, that Antonio de Guevara says, "Whenever he was named afterwards, it was the custom for men to take off their caps, and for women to curtsey." How dear to all classes of his subjects was Sancho II., the desired king of Castile, called by Rodriguez of Toledo, the buckler of nobility, the father of the poor, the defender of widows and orphans, the friend of monks, the arbitrator of all who were at variance, and the universal benefactor. Where Catholicity has formed manners, it is not alone the highest nobles that can recall some trait of favour from their sovereign; the humblest subject has had proof of the humility or generosity which the true religion of Jesus Christ can inspire in the breast of kings; familiarity, rather than distant reserve with their subjects, is then witnessed. In 1533, the students of Coimbra heard themselves all saluted familiarly by name by the King John III., whose prodigious memory enabled him, after having read the list but once, to give the juvenile assembly this surprise. "No hate thou cherishest" might such men have heard from all; "revenge and favouritism, and worst desire of fame, thou knowest not." The interests of their people, the peace and happiness of those who should live after them, these were paramount, as in St. Louis, who might so truly have said, in the words of the ancient orator—"Mihi autem non minori curæ est qualis respublica post meam mortem futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit*." An act which in modern times, in a society gangrened by infidelity, passed almost as a natural and just policy, was stigmatized in 1347, while Catholicity flourished without contamination, as a nefarious outrage; for when Peter, king of Aragon, having no son, set aside his brother James in favour of his own daughter Constantia, "nefas habebant," says the historian, "rege sine filiis masculis decedente, fratrem Jacobum a futura deturbare regnorum successione, quæ ad eum paterno atque avito jure omnibus claro et notissimo pertinebat†." Such egotism could not co-exist with the piety, and honour, and justice of the ruler whom Catholicism in reality inspired. Those hooded ministers we met before would not have sanctioned it; they would have found nothing strange in the disinterestedness of Lycurgus preferring to be regent of the kingdom for the legitimate heir,

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* Cicero in Lælio.

† Hieron Blanca, Aragon. Rer. Comment. 191.

not king by the marriage of his mother; for they expected every man to do his duty, and the kings they loved were not ambitious: their services were for men who loved their children dearly, but, in regard to a thought of favouritism, their people more. In fact, we find that these "crowned monsters," as the modern democratic writers represent them, so far from straining every nerve to grasp, or extend, or consolidate their power, required, after all, the persuasions and menaces of religion to be induced, for the benefit of others, to retain it. "Honours and dignities," says an old historian, "are benefices which fortune and the world have charged with such great pensions, and the reserve of so many troubles, that in the end men are glad to escape from them." Accordingly, we are not surprised to read of a Roderic, king of Ireland, in the twelfth century, that land then so celebrated for its sanctity, abdicating after a long reign, and spending the last thirteen years of his life in the monastery of St. Fechin, at Conga; whence making a pilgrimage, he died on the way, and was buried at Cloyne. Those kings, who like the last named used to give such great alms to God, to the poor, to all the Churches of Ireland, and even to those of Rome and Jerusalem*, seemed half invested while on the throne with a monastic habit; nor again, when familiar with canonized names, are we struck with a sense of any thing extraordinary, when we find that, on the crown of Brittany coming to Judicael, the son of Judicael I., that prince wished to retire into a monastery, and lay the burden on his brother Judoc; when a contention arose between them as to which should not reign, which was finally ended according to the desire of Judicael, who was afterwards enrolled in the list of the Benedictine saints†. But certainly the great examples of detachment in comparatively recent times, presented in the history of nations which had attained to a state of civilization more like that which now prevails, are calculated to strike the attention of many who are in need of direction for themselves.

Protestantism long hoped, by force of misrepresentations, to diminish the interest associated with the act of the great Emperor Charles V., who by his actions supplied so many antidotes to its words: but it has failed. The grandeur of his last solemn achievement remains unclouded, pointing to the wonderful depth and practical reality of Catholicism, acting on the breast of men invested with supreme power. When abdicating, he said to his son Philip, "Other kings promise to give their kingdoms to their sons when they can keep them no longer for themselves. I wish to prevent this necessity, and desire to see

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* Ogygiæ Domest. p. iii.

† De Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. i. 244.

you reigning by my free gift. To you I recommend the fear and love of God, and the especial resolution of defending the Catholic religion, as the firmest foundation and best safeguard of all kingdoms." In 1480, Alphonso V., king of Portugal, after a glorious reign, convoked the states-general at Lisbon, and, to their great surprise, began to reproach himself for every fault he had committed on the throne, and then announced his resolution to spend the rest of his life in a convent of the order of St. Francis. Having thus declared his intention, he gave the sceptre to the prince Don John, and withdrew a private man, amidst the tears and remonstrances of the assembly. Emmanuel the Great, whose reign was styled by the Portuguese the golden reign, had secretly taken measures for abdicating the crown, and was only prevented from executing them by remarking certain qualities in the young prince which made him apprehend injurious consequences to his people. But it is Spain perhaps which has beheld, in less remote times, the most remarkable series of examples of men despising power on a throne. Philip V., abdicating in favour of the Prince of the Asturias, assigned his motives in a document, which cannot be read without emotion. He declares that, after four years' reflection on the miseries of life and the qualifications of his son, he has resolved to retire to his palace of St. Ildefonso, with his queen, who is in the same dispositions to serve God and meditate on death. His letter to his son, Louis I., is most affecting :—" God, by his infinite mercy, having," he says, " willed that I should for many years be impressed with a sense of the nothingness of the world, and the vanity of its grandeur, and with an ardent desire for eternal good, I have thought it right to shew my gratitude to his Divine Majesty for his visible protection during the long period of my life and reign, by placing at his feet this crown, in order to mourn for my past offences, and to render myself less unworthy of appearing in his presence when I shall be summoned to that judgment which is so much more formidable for kings than for other men. I have had more courage and joy in coming to this conclusion, from having the happiness to find in the queen the same sentiments, for she is as anxious as myself to trample upon worldly grandeur and the perishable goods of this life." He then proceeded to give admirable instructions to his son as to the duties of a king, beginning with his obligations to serve and honour God, to further the interests of the Church, to evince his obedience to the holy see, and to promote devotion to the blessed Virgin to the utmost of his power, as the surest means of providing for the virtue and happiness of his people. After dwelling on the administration of justice, the defence of the poor, the defence of the Indians, and the diminution of taxes, he concluded by proposing the examples of St. Louis and St. Ferdinand as the models he should

imitate through his whole reign. So also, in respect to the offers of power either refused or accepted without ambition, we are directed by history to Catholicism, as the source of such detachment, one example of which is more beneficial to an age than all the sayings of philosophy:—Earl Richard, brother of Henry III., being elected king of Germany, wished to decline the honour, "but," says Mathieu Paris, "being greatly pressed, he consented, and then, with a joyful confidence, spoke these words: —'Well then, be it so. Yes, I trust myself to the mercy of God; I receive graciously, however unworthy and insufficient I be, this burden, this honour offered to me, I hope by the divine inspiration; for I do not wish to pass for pusillanimous and a coward.' Then turning to the bishops, as Richard, bishop of Bangor, who was present, told me," adds the historian, "he said, 'As for me, before leaving this chapel, I wish that I may be burnt by the infernal fire, or struck with sudden death, if I act thus through ambition or avarice, and if my sole motive be not to restore and ameliorate the state of the kingdom, and to govern in all moderation, justice, and honour, those who have elected me in the Lord *.'" Thus then, in fine, has Catholicism given to the world the noblest ideal, and the most efficient realization of monarchal as of every other legitimate form of government. "To be as superior to his victory as to his enemies—to combat only for peace, and to secure the triumph of religion—to reign only to crown justice—to give to his desires limits less extended than those of his power, and to make known his power to his subjects only by the number of his benefits—to be more jealous of the name of father of his country than of the title of conqueror, and less sensible to the acclamations which follow triumphs than to the benedictions of the people consoled in miseries,"—such is the grandeur of a prince who is docile to the Catholic doctrine —such the type which every nation that has received the holy faith has seen realized, at least at some period or other in the person of its king. And what can be proposed to mankind in any age, let its civilization assume what form it will, more beneficial to all parties, to all classes, in a nation? Is it the ruler or government of the Pagan or modern type that should be preferred? Not that I would compare, as I before protested, the man with the man, lest I should appear to insult the dead; but I would contrast peace with discord, law with force, order with confusion, justice and jurisdiction with the sovereignty of the mob. Here, then, at this spot, we are so far advanced, that either we must cease all further wandering, and rest for ever satisfied, or hastily leave this road, which we have so long followed, and pass through the dense underwood on some one side

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* Ad ann. 1257.

or other to find a different track, where our observations may begin afresh. To turn from the centre before us, where we now stand, in hopes of finding truth relative to government, in any other direction would be irrational. In every other direction we come to that political idolatry, which, whatever shape it may assume, whatever name it may bear, "continues," as Frederick Schlegel says, "to be the great gulf of perdition to our age: and," as he adds, "until that idolatry be abolished, until that abyss of ruin be closed up, the house of the Lord, where peace and justice embrace each other, can never be founded on a renovated earth." Opposed to the Catholic foundation, principles, and manners of government, we can only find insecure subterfuges, broken remains, miserable imitations, full of inconsistency, pure unmitigated tyranny, or the confusion and licence of a foul and savage barbarism. What horrible discordant sounds float now from afar over the forest, startling even these secret deep recesses, where we meditate with friends! It is that we have personal experience, alas! to guide us, to convince now the most sceptical of the relationship between political and religious things, to urge us on to the centre, where alone is safety for nations as for men. We have seen, in 1830, when the stranger commenced another work, the heathen, as he then proclaimed to incredulous ears—we have seen, in 1848, when he began the present, as millions of terrified men acknowledge, the barbarians come. Yes, we too require to be re-assured by homilies like those of St. Maximus, "De barbaris non timendis," and to feel proof that, as he says, "non potest timere barbarum, qui timuerit salvatorem*." For what is socialism? Pride and barbarism, rushing upon Catholicism, which is wisdom and humility. "Socialism," continues Donoso Cortes, "is like Nabuchodonosor, king and beast at once. We assist," he continues, "at a new spectacle in history, new in the world—for when has the world ever beheld, as now, an advance to barbarism by ideas, while, by arms, men endeavour to defend civilization?" If you can descend to Gentile images, Europe now may desire another Hesiod to sing this combat of Jupiter against the Titans, or the struggle of order against disorder. Conservatives, as they style themselves, trusting in material resources, and utterly indifferent, if not violently and obstinately opposed, to the eternal principles of the Catholic religion, think for a moment, that by some victory in their own streets, all is again secure:—

> "But if nations, like one wretch,
> Should mock with gold, opinion, law, and power—
> If there be no appeal to that which makes
> The guiltiest tremble,—"

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* Ap. Mab. Iter Italicum, 2.

what can result the least terrible but a general decay and dissolution of all the bonds that hold society together; which consideration made Cicero say, "Ex quo debet intelligi, talibus præmiis propositis, nunquam defutura bella civilia. Itaque parietes modo urbis stant et manent, iique ipsi jam extrema scelera metuentes; rem vero publicam penitus amisimus *." And yet, repeating the sad lesson, governments would still, to enhance the splendour of their capitals, build palaces perhaps, and arrange parks and parterres of flowers, as at St. Germain, within sound of the cannon that are clearing streets from a domestic foe: while the simple rustic might demand, with Shakspear's gardener, saying, "Why should we, in the compass of a pale, keep law, and form, and due proportion; showing, as in a model, our firm estate, when the whole land is full of weeds?" Then union and order are invoked, though the new society is most in order when it is most out of order. Then trophies are erected in every street to proclaim the triumph of fraternity, which is as little felt as when Opimius raised a temple to Concord, on which some one wrote, in the night, after its dedication, the words—"Fury raised this temple to Concord." It is in their fury that they desire brotherly love, insisting, in terms admitting no resistance, that the word should be painted on the doors even of our churches. "We are men of no talents," they say, "but we have hearts to hate, mouths to curse, and arms to slay." Such are the titles to honour adduced at this moment by champions of the French democracy. "All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen, they call false caterpillars, and intend their death. The magistrates are to be labouring men, and the labouring men magistrates. Their captain is brave, and vows reformation. All the realm is to be in common, all shall be apparelled in one livery, that they may agree as brothers." Gonzalo's commonwealth is to succeed the kingdom of St. Louis:—

> "Letters shall not be known; no use of service,
> Of riches, or of poverty; no contracts,
> No successions; bound of land, title, vineyard, none;
> No occupation; all men idle, all
> Innocent and pure; no sovereignty.
> Nature shall bring forth of its own
> Kind all foizon, all abundance, to
> Feed the innocent people."

"Henceforth," says the chief, "every thing shall be in common,"—but, after all the cries of progress, the same circle is trod by the bewildered multitude as in the days which Shakspear has

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* Cicero de Off. ii. 8.

described:—"The commonwealth grows sick of its own choice—being now trimmed in its own desires, it does disgorge him:" for

—— "This common body,
Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream,
Goes to and back, lackeying the varying tide,
To rot itself with motion."

Briefly, the results of these mistaken steps, in turning from the central light and force of government, consisting in Catholicism, is to revive every ancient error—to bring back every old misfortune—to leave the world without hope of remedy—without peace; and, to sum up all calamities by naming one, from which all others flow inevitably,—without God. What trust is in these times? The nations are diseased, and with their surfeiting and wanton hours have brought themselves into a burning fever, and they must bleed for it. Yes, they even say as much. They swear that all must pay this tax of blood; and they who are not drawn for foreign levies must serve as national guards at home. Ah! but "they are diseased, they have a cough—come, they shall go to the wars in a gown; they turn their books to graves, their ink to blood, their pens to lances. So are they enforced from their most quiet sphere by the rough torrent of occasion;" for, now that the world is to begin afresh, insurrection is religion, and poor discontent virtue—fickle changeling which gapes and rubs the elbow at the news of hurly-burly innovation. Each month must see its parties fraternize,—

"That done, dissever your united strengths;
And part your mingled colours once again,
Turn face to face, and bloody point to point."

But let us pursue in thought this retrograde, mad course no longer, which, though it conducts us to present times,—

——— "When all the sway of earth
Shakes like a thing unfirm,"—

can yet be described thus in words supplied us by our wiser fathers, who disdained such progress and hell alike. Let us quit this road, convinced even by political and social arguments of the truth of the Catholic religion; for therein, respecting the temporal and material interests of human society, have we read "the very bottom and the soul of hope; the very list, the very utmost bound of all our fortunes." Nations may take heed or not of the signals thus held up to them: the stability which is a consequence of principles, not formally acknowledged though practically adopted by some states, may render them slow to recognize the source of ruin in others, which, by discarding them,

have been placed as a wheel and as straw before the face of the wind; but nothing should prevent individuals, at least, from profiting by the spectacle of the great political and social catastrophes around them, invited as they are every year by the Catholic Church to distinguish the only deliverance which is promised; for after the words, "Commovisti, Domine, terram, et conturbasti eam. Sana contritiones ejus, quia commota est," she seems content with this conclusion, "ut fugiant à facie arcus, ut liberentur electi tui."

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROAD OF PRIESTS.

SOLEMN with all the characters of venerable antiquity are the avenues which traverse this part of life's vast forest. Here another road, like the last, leads through the oldest part of the wood, recalling what is most majestic in past times; but it is still trodden by living feet, and, on entering it, we often meet unexpectedly with some of the very men from whom it derives its title. How sweet to light thus upon some of the venerable curates of Paris, taking their stroll on a day of refreshment through the forest of St. Germain, reciting their breviary as they walk, or seated on the grass, engaged in holy conversation with some of their brethren. It was in this forest that Bossuet, when preceptor of the dauphin, established his religious and philosophic walks with Fenelon, the Abbé Fleury, Renaudot, de la Brosse, de Langeron, de Saint-Luc, de Longuerue, and other priests; during which different parts of the Bible used to be read aloud, when Bossuet would deliver his commentaries which were afterwards so celebrated. It was in this peaceful forest that Monseigneur Afre took his last solitary walks, shortly before offering up his life in Paris. Every woodman here had met him. These solemn trees which have beheld so many vicissitudes are thus familiar with the priest; and if we repair to wilder solitudes we shall still find the same men crossing our path at intervals. Calderon de la Barca supplies an instance; for the second day of his devotion to the cross begins in a desert region, where a cross at a distance is the sole object. A shot is heard, three robbers advance, "The ball must have hit him," one of them exclaims exultingly, hastening to the spot where a traveller in fact has fallen. Then, returning, he leads to his captain an old man, and

says, "Here is indeed a strange adventure; on examining him, I found that the ball had not penetrated, having been deadened by this book which he carried in his breast. He was only stunned, and I bring him to you safe and sound." "I am indeed astonished," says Eusebio, the captain. "Who are you, then, venerable old man?" he says to the stranger. "The happiest of men," replies Alberto (for such is the traveller's name), "I am an unworthy priest. During forty-five years I professed sacred theology at Bologna; and, to reward my zeal, his holiness had given me the bishopric of Trent. But, perceiving shortly that I should have to give an account for a great number of souls, I left there all grandeur and pomp, and, flying from their deceitful charms, I came into this wilderness, where one sees truth face to face. I was now proceeding to Rome to demand authorization from the pope to found a holy order of hermits, but your implacable fury finishes here my destiny and my life." "Say, what book is this?" asks the robber. "It is the fruit of the studies of my long career." "What does it contain?" "It treats on the origin and history of the sacred wood, on which Christ dying triumphed over death. In a word it is entitled, The Miracles of the Cross." "I congratulate myself," replies Eusebio, "that my leaden bullet was softened like wax against this book. Would to God my hand had been burned rather than that it should do injury to such a volume! I give you your life and your money, and you shall have an escort till you are safely beyond the defile of these mountains." "I shall pray to God," replies the priest, "that he may enlighten you, and cause you, some day or other, to see the error in which you live." "Well, do so," rejoined the robber, "pray for my conversion." "Yes," concludes the other, "I promise you, wherever I may be, I shall be the minister of heaven whenever you call for me to bring you to repentance and confession; I will leave all to come to you: I am a priest, and my name is Alberto."

Thus in wildest, most secluded spots within the forest of life, men, however far they may have wandered from holy seats, are supplied by the all-ruling Providence, who provides for human salvation, with that guidance to the happy centre which is furnished on the road of priests; where what would be termed a chance meeting, like this, has often led men to recognize the truth of Catholicity, or to return to it with the devotion arising from personal experience of its power and of its divine benefits. The great Spanish poet represents no improbable scene when he confronts his lawless haunter of the forest with the priest. Returning once from Lower Germany, and passing by the Rhine with a certain young companion with whom he could not keep up, being left behind nearly half a mile, about sunset, entering a vast wood, Suso saw a robber with an immense sword accom-

panying a woman. They passed on, and he entered the wood. After some time the woman came alone to him, and asked him his name, and, on his telling her, she replied, that he was known to her by fame, and she implored him to hear her confession. She then returned to the robber, and induced him to follow her example, who, to the terror of Suso, came forth. But he was already a changed man, proceeding then to make his confession to him, and beseeching his prayers that he might be truly converted before his death.

On the worst, wildest roads of the world, as on the paths of the natural forest which are most dreaded, men wandering thus meet, some day or other, Catholic priests, who, though forbidden, as in the Partidas, to hunt with either hounds or hawks, leave no solitude of woods or mountains deprived of the signal which a conversation with them can supply. Not to the roads of home and of the family are their feet limited—not to their relatives and friends must we repair to find them; for, as St. Gregory says, instructing them, "extra cognatos quisque ac proximos debet fieri, si vult parenti omnium verius jungi *." So, where least expected, by those who are straying thoughtlessly far from that common parent, priests of the Catholic Church are met; some, as Jesuits in past times, most frequently by the great, with whom, as heresy commenced in their houses, they, more than other orders, were to be placed naturally in chief relation—others, as Franciscans, oftenest by the poor; for thus was realized by faith that great law of the moral as well as of the physical world, proclaimed by Cuvier—variety in unity. But all are for all; for every rank, as for every nation, the Catholic priest devotes himself, his proclamation being like that of Theseus, when he sought to people Athens, "O people, come ye all here!" And now we arrive at a very solemn avenue,—

"Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A sylvan scene; and, as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view."

Here comes the messenger of heaven, like Uriel directing some other fallen angel perhaps, and saying,—

"That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Man's true abode; those lofty shades his bower,
Thy way thou canst not miss,"—

adding, in the words of another bard who describes a true minister,—

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* Mor. vii. 14.

> "Then seek this path, that I to thee presage,
> Which, after all, to heaven shall thee send ;
> Then peaceably thy painefull pilgrimage
> To yonder same Hierusalem doe bend,
> Where is for thee ordain'd a blessed end."

Some who meet him have, in fact, addressed such words to him as,—

> ——— "Doceas iter, et sacra ostia pandas *."

Wearied and fearful they begin, like Dante, "Parent, beloved, turn and behold how we remain alone ; and, if it please thee, we would gladly know how far we have to journey ;" and when his hand he has stretched forth to theirs with pleasant looks, whence they are cheered, into those sacred covers, he, beckoning with salutation kind, leads them, humbly but strongly speaking, as one,—

> "Not wanting power to mitigate and 'suage
> With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
> Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain
> From mortal minds."

For it is to the humble simple priest of the Catholic Church that the author of Atala alludes, where he says, "There are men, whose conscience is so tranquil, that one cannot approach them without participating in the peace which exhales as it were from their hearts and from their lips. We emerged," he adds, "from the forest, and began to scale the mountain. Whoever has seen, as I have, Father Aubry walking thus, with his staff and his breviary in the desert, has a true idea of the Christian traveller upon earth." Demosthenes used to say of Phocion, that a word or a sign of the head from such a man has as much weight and force to persuade as a thousand speeches and reasonings. We may conceive what would have been his impressions after meeting one of those true sages from whom this road takes its name. In fact, it is a matter of history as well as of every day's experience, that the simple priest of the Catholic Church realizes the highest ideal we can form of the power of a holy life on men who witness it. We might cite for ever attestations like those of Dom Gattula, saying of Angelo Sangrinus, "that no one ever heard him speak without feeling an immense consolation, and that he had such power over minds, that whatever he said seemed to be easy and light †." "Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis, dum loqueretur?" said the disciples, after conversing with our Lord upon the road ; and the same mysterious in-

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* Æn. vi. 109.

† Hist. Cassinens. xi. 679.

ward testimony is found by those who meet his chosen messengers who, as St. Ephrem says of certain hermits, make a church of whatever place they find themselves in. Oh, what a temple becomes the shadowy wood when, seated on some mossy trunk, we hear the holy priest even when conversing most familiarly. How does the soul drink these words in silence! What joy did the emperor express to his court after hearing Bardo preach that beautiful sermon as he sat at table, breaking forth, 'Ex nimia lætitia quasi desipiens,' as if his joy made him utter what was extravagant[*]." The same impressions on the mind of the poor and illiterate are shown by Shakespear, where he represents the delight of the nurse while listening to the friar, which she expresses with such homely simplicity, exclaiming, "O Lord, I could have stayed here all the night to hear good counsel! O what learning is!" The tongue of the priest, earnest, benignant, calm, as from a breast void of all hate or terror, is a sound dispensing joy to all poor human creatures wandering through life's phantasmal forest, though it may shake the anarch Custom's reign, and charm the minds of men to truth's own sway. It opens the prospect of a new and glorious existence to men who may have hitherto gazed on this fair world with hopeless unconcern, like those described by the melancholy poet,—

——— "who all pined in bondage; body and soul,
Tyrant and slave, victim and torturer, bent
Before one power, to which supreme controul
Over their will, by their own weakness lent,
Made all its many names omnipotent."

But, as we should seek to arrange in some degree of order our impressions on this new way, let us proceed to observe how a meeting with Catholic priests on the roads of life may be said to direct others to the centre, by a consideration, in the first place, of the high and unearthly authority with which they are invested, rendering their counsels hard to resist, and their offered guidance acceptable,

"Love from its awful throne of patient power
Folds over the world its healing wings."

"God is not local," says St. Isidore, "and yet locally he walks in his saints who preach from place to place[†]." St. Bernard is obliged to repeat that Martin was not Christ himself, "In terra natus est, in terra educatus, in terra exercitatus et probatus, in terra etiam consummatus; but still," he adds, "Martinus iste

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[*] Mab. Act. SS. Ord. Ben. Sæc. vi. p. ii.

[†] D. Isid. de Summo Bono, i. 2.

Christus non fuit." Perhaps no day passes when the meeting with a priest, on some spot or other of the dangerous roads of life, does not give occasion to a scene like that described by Dante in the lines—

———— "I perceived
That he was sent from heaven; and to my guide
Turn'd me, who signal made, that I should stand
Quiet, and bend to him. Ah, me! how full
Of noble thoughts appear'd he [*]."

"Angelicum munus, mihi credite, est, nudè proferre veritatem; so," continues Antonio de Escobar, "all who saw Stephen beheld the face of an angel [†]." Many feel this power, behold this vision, receive this sacrament of grace, and say in consequence, "You are to us the voice of God himself, the very opener and intelligencer between the grace, the sanctities of heaven and our dull workings."

In China or Australia, in Asia or America, as well as in the most cultivated nations of Europe, truth, which as St. Augustin says, "is neither Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin, nor barbarian, speaking within men's souls without a voice, says to them in the secret depths of thought, what he speaks is true, and it is God who sends him." If any men unsent, unauthorized, arrogate to themselves the priesthood, and, deeming sufficient that they have a human mission, present themselves upon this road, offering to guide the wanderer while leading him from the Catholic centre, they are met with the divine voice, saying, "Beware of false prophets—qui veniunt ad vos," and with the great concurring comment of all Christian antiquity, expressed by the words which St. Augustin furnishes, repeating veniunt, and adding, "not mittantur—they come of their own accord;" but of them St. John says, "Si quis venit ad vos, et hanc doctrinam non adfert, nec Ave ei dixeritis [‡]." "Who sends you?" was the short, piercing question of Charles de Lorraine to Theodore Bèze at the colloquy of Poissy, who replied, that he was "the elect of the people confirmed by the magistrates."

The Protestants said that the people could elect their ministers by natural right, and they boasted of having Scripture for their rule: but "remark," says Fénélon, "that in so many of the Epistles of the Apostles, where they give in such exact detail precise rules for the conduct of the people, pointing out, often down to the minutest circumstance, the duties of the laity, they have never spoken of what the people should do for the

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[*] Hell, ix.

[†] In Evang. Comment. tom. vi. 159.

[‡] Cont. Gaudent.

election of their pastors *" The Catholic priest is otherwise commissioned: though not in vain was it instituted by the fathers, as the pontiff says in ordaining him, that in the election of those who are to minister at the altar "consulatur etiam populus;" which in France is done at high mass, in every parish church, before certain ordinations take place: "for sometimes," adds the pontifical text, "in questions of life and manners, what is unknown to many is known to a few. We indeed suppose him worthy,—sed ne unum fortasse vel paucos aut decipiat assensio vel fallat affectio, sententia est expetenda multorum †." Conscious, however, that his authority is derived from a divine source, and that it is not they who have constituted him, instinctively the people reverence the priest, and say,—

"Thou art the Judge, beneath whose nod
Man's brief and frail authority
Is powerless as the wind that passeth idly by."

But now, without dwelling upon a point which admits of no candid controversy, since the historical solution is sufficient, let us proceed to remark some of the many signals pointing to the truth of Catholicity, which are furnished by the character of the men who meet us upon this road of priests, which nothing else but a recognition of their divine authority, and of the truth of their instruction, can explain to the attentive observer.

The habit does not make the man; but the respect which the habit inspires in many may be remarked as a singular privilege belonging to priests of the Catholic Church. A venerable father, in Paris, supplied the stranger with an instance, in these words: —"When a novice in our order," he said, "I remember Don Carlos coming to our college, and kissing the sleeve of my habit: and, when I observed to him that I was not a priest, the religious prince replied, 'It is the same for me, as I kiss the habit which the holy Church has given to you.'" We read that a companion was scandalized at the honours shown to St. Francis by the people who used to kiss his hands and feet; and that, complaining to him, he received this answer:—"Brother, all this respect is shown not to me but to God; and I, knowing this, remit all to Him, and preserve myself in the mire of my humility: and men gain advantage by this; for they recognize God, and honour Him in his creatures and in his members ‡." These men, whose solemn black or ashy raiment resembles no other garb of gravity, or whose white investments figure innocence, proclaim, by their

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* Traité du Ministère des Pasteurs.

† Rom. Pont. de Ord. Presbyt.

‡ Bucchius, Liber Aureus Conformit. a Vit. B. Pat. F. ad Vit. J. Christi, 48.

very exterior appearance, in what society are still found those who observe such ancient canons as prescribe, that no one of the clerical order shall wear a laical dress *." In the ninth century, the bishop, on his visitation, was to enquire from each priest whether he had ever laid aside his clerical habit to wear the dress of a layman †. The instinct of the world, which takes offence at any departure from this discipline, might be said to furnish another signal. In the thirteenth century, the French proverb expressed the thoughts of all Christendom requiring such observance; for it said—

> "Mieulx vault cils qui despent sa folie
> Que clerc qui cele sa clergie ‡."

Instances are supplied by old writers, whose simple narratives are of this smiling kind:—"A certain nobleman," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "had plundered a monastery of black monks, in France. The abbot and brethren accordingly deputed one of the community to lay the case before King Philip. They chose a young man of noble birth, as likely to obtain more from the king through regard to his family. The monk having related what had taken place, the king began to consider his manner and habit, and asked him his name and family. The other having replied, the king said, 'Well, you are noble:' and, adding some other words, the monk said, 'Truly, my lord, he has taken from us all that we had, and left us nothing:'—when the king replied, 'Indeed, this appears clearly from your shoes; for, if he had left you any leather, they would not have been made so tight. The nobler you are, sir, the humbler you ought to be. Be not displeased at my remark, for I meant it for your good. Return to your convent, and that nobleman shall trouble you no more §.'" He gives another instance, saying,—"Last year, a certain abbot of our order, well known to me, meeting Frederic, king of the Romans, having to speak to him, the horse which he rode became so restive and furious, that he could not approach the king, who all the while sat unmoved upon a tame, quiet horse. The prince was not a little scandalized, and I was also. The abbot departed blushing, and would never mount that horse again. He was, in truth, a simple and humble old man, and an observer of discipline, though that day he was less circumspect in regard to his horse. The conclusion is, however, Quod juste in religiosis secularibus displicet, Deo placere non potest ‖." In general, if enquiry were made, the signification of the external

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* Regino Abb. Prum. De Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 158.

† Id. lib. i. 27.

‡ Le Roux de Lincy, le Livre des Proverbes F. t. ii.

§ Lib. iv. c. 12.

‖ Id. iv. c. 14.

distinctions used by priests might call attention to some openings through which the central truth would penetrate. Their crown is thus significative; for "we use the tonsure," says Rupertus, "through grief and compassion. Yet this sign of humility we call a crown, because it is a sign of victory, and triumph, our honour and our glory; 'for far be it from us to glory,' as said the vessel of election, 'unless in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.' This glory, however, not having yet appeared as to what it will be, wears at present, no doubt, an air of sadness, until sorrow shall be changed into joy, and our joy be full*." The external distinctions may indeed be interdicted, as in miserable times of persecution, when the ecclesiastical prudence required in England priests to wear the dress of other men; but the signal, even by their presence, was not in consequence removed—for, though clad like others, every child could recognize them still. "You may plainly see he is a priest," said Judge Yelverton to the jury who were trying Father Arrowsmith: "I warrant you he would not for all England deny his order." Again, the intensity of the contrary impressions which are inspired in men of good and profligate lives, by meeting with the Catholic priest, must awaken curiosity, and often lead observers to perceive that there is something more than human in their character—some mysterious affinity between them and that child, who was placed in "ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel, et in signum cui contradicetur,"—since their presence excites exactly the same love and hatred, according to the moral disposition of those with whom it is confronted, as when Christ himself was personally seen. Who are their friends? Who are their enemies? We need not halt long upon this road to find proof of the respect and love with which the clergy are regarded by persons of innocent and just lives, conformable to the simplicity of nature. The first honest peasant or roving boy that we meet can supply an instance. Hersart de la Villemarque says, in his work on the Popular Chants of Brittany, that the rustics would never have revealed to him all their traditions and songs, if the clergy had not intervened to persuade them. Indeed, the songs themselves attest the attachment of the population to their pastors. "I will tell you a secret," says one of them: "it was an old priest who taught it to me—a man of God, if there was ever one in the world†." Antonio de Yepes, of Montserrat, says, "that formerly common laymen, who went to visit holy priests or monks, used to make a point of fasting while on the road to them; as we see in the instance related of one who excused himself from eating with the other travellers whom he met on the way, by saying that he

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* De Div. Officiis, lib. ii. 25.

† Le Mauro du Roi.

lways fasted whenever he went to see St. Bernard *." To see he bishop of the diocese, or some parish priest, or cloistered ionk, formed often the sole object of a journey, undertaken hrough veneration for his character. A certain brother went rom Scete to Alexandria, and, on his return, being asked to escribe the city, he replied, "Believe me, brethren, I saw othing, and the face of no man there, but only the bishop †." 'ersons from all parts of Europe used to flock to the Cardinal eraphin Olivari as to an oracle. "It was thought," says Pierre Iathieu, "that no project could succeed that did not meet the pprobation of this great intelligence ‡." But to see the "good nan" of our old chivalrous romances, in his lonely presbytery, r the poor village curate at the present day, the high and low ill often turn their steps, with as much pleasure as if they exected him to solve all problems. The ecclesiastical virtues are ften appreciated even by the enemies of the Christian religion, cknowledging that this priest does all things well. The Jews, o show their affection, attended the funeral of St. Hilaire, archishop of Arles §. In former times, the government made disinctions in favour of the priest. Thus clerks or monks, when bliged to appear before the public tribunals, were always heard irst, in Flanders, during the reign of the good Count St. Charles; or he used to say, "it would be disgraceful to detain with such ctions those who would otherwise be applying to study and to rayer ||." About the year 1200, Rotron, count of Perche, inlignant at the imprisonment of Hildebert, bishop of Mans, who ad been seized by his mother, and thrown into the castle of Nogent, as an emphatic symbol to indicate how he loved him, nd desired his liberty, sent her a large portion of his own hair. But, in general, the men whom we find upon this road, distinuished by their love and veneration for the clergy, are also emarked amongst a multitude by their own virtues. History leclares that the friends of the Catholic priesthood, in all past ges as at present, have been the friends of virtue, the friends of rder, of justice, of peace, of the poor. To take but one instance: —observe the character of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. This magnificent man," says an old historian, "gave not alone is wealth, but his life, to save the poor from oppression, and to lefend the justice and rights of the kingdom. He was estimable n all respects by learning and science. He rejoiced to assist ssiduously at the divine offices. He was accustomed to fru-

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* Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben.

† Joan. Major. Magnum Speculum, 540.

‡ Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vii.

§ Du Port, Hist. de l'Eglise d'Arlès, 114.

|| Fr. Gualter. Tarvanens. Vit. S. Car. Mart. xii.

gality, and to watching by night. He had a grave discourse, a severe countenance. He had perfect faith in the prayers of monks, and always showed a profound respect for ecclesiastics. He used to follow the precepts of the blessed Robert Grossetête, of Lincoln, to whom he confided his little children to be educated *." Here would be the place to speak of the favour and munificence with which the laity came forward to relieve the necessities, and minister to all the immense desires of the Catholic priesthood; but space would fail us were we to attempt to delineate this signal. "Be curious," says St. Augustin, "in seeking out poor priests, and persons of voluntary poverty, to relieve them; for those who ask nothing may yet condemn you at the last day †." We need hardly add how well the history of Christendom, even to the present hour, proves the fulfilment of such obligations. Truly upon this road we meet with an entire class of men to whom, when you give aught, you feel instinctively that you give to God Himself. I mean not the common poor, in whom it is of faith that you assist Christ, but priests, monks, bishops perhaps,—men holy, simple, and at an infinite elevation above this world, all whose thoughts are vows,—men unapt to mingle with the strong, cunning, money-making race, who stand amongst them unknown, despised, while ever loving, and labouring to serve them, with a divine love. Such men, often met with in places where the contrast is most striking, need not be described in more detail to those who have seen that venerable sire who waves the crozier where Dromore gives title, whom this very stranger remembers having once seen rudely pushed, and roughly answered, by a crowd of petty officials, when travelling to Rome a true devoted pilgrim. Friends and enemies are quick to perceive too that the Catholic priest or bishop is eminently a grateful man—a man of the old virtues of humanity, uninfected by the blight with which the modern philosophy kills or spoils every beautiful germ in the human character. "The clergy," says a French statesman, once distinguished for his hostility to their order, "are generous men. They will not, they cannot, sacrifice this society." The clergy indeed are gravely condemned by some writers expressly on account of their gratitude; and, for my part, I grieve when any, through desire of defending them, would deny the charge. Yes, they were grateful for benefits received. Cæsar of Heisterbach relates an instance:—"Not long since," he says, "a certain prince of Germany died; after whose death, when a certain priest, on whom he had conferred favours, was pouring out prayers, with tears and groans to God for his soul, he had a vision, and heard a voice asking, 'Why do you labour so much for a damned

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* Mat. Paris, Cont. 1265.

† In Ps. 103.

soul, since your prayer cannot profit him who lies now in the nethermost hell?' And the priest answered, 'O Lord, he did much good to me, and I am bound to him by gratitude.' The voice answered, 'Cease to pray for him; for during a whole year before he was buried he was dead; and a malignant spirit, instead of his soul, moved his body, for he was a great tyrant, and had but little fear of the Lord *.'" We should remark here, however, that the signal, consisting in the respect and love evinced for Catholic priests, exists without the presence of the perfect; for the Catholic religion invests all men separated to the Church with the same titles, which are never neglected without incurring censure from her religious guides—as when St. Gertrude says, "There are some who love with sincere affection perfect and religious prelates, and with justice and reverence extol them, but who slight and disparage imperfect and faulty prelates, and judge all their actions with impatient disdain. Such men place a crown of gems and pearls on one-half of our Saviour's head, while they pierce and bruise the other with thorns †."

But while at one time men may be directed to truth, by observing how the Catholic priest is loved and respected; at another, they may be directed or confirmed on the way to it, by remarking how he is envied and hated: for there is also something more than human in the displeasure which his presence causes in some places. Many hate him so, that in their silent rage their lips grow white only to see him pass. Thus a modern traveller gives vent to the torment which he feels on meeting priests and monks in the streets of Genoa, whom he mistakes for the deformed images that heresy has imparted to his own mind, saying, "I have no knowledge elsewhere of more repulsive countenances than are to be found among these clergy. Greater varieties of sloth, deceit, and intellectual torpor could hardly be observed among any class of men in the world." Yet this ebullition has not given him ease; so he adds, in the style of buffoonery which is characteristic of his sect, "Some go slinking noiselessly about in pairs, like black cats,"—a comparison which no doubt would have seemed very happy to that judge, Topcliffe, who said in a rage, after the Reverend John Ingram had been tortured in the Tower, that "he was of all others a monster for his taciturnity." The second question, therefore, is alike forced upon every one who observes the clergy confronted with the world—Who are their enemies? The martyr, Arthur Bell, observing the rage excited by a recognition of his priesthood, asked calmly "whether the jury were Christians?" intimating, as Challoner

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* xii. c. 3.

† Insin. div. Pietatis, seu Vit. et Revel. S. Gertrudis Abb. lib. iii. c. 76.

observes, that Christians might perhaps condemn the priests of the order of Aaron, but not those of the institution of Christ :—"What before appeared mysterious," he added, "I now explain." The first class of enemies, therefore, consists of men who are historically convicted of having renounced Christianity, as taught and practised in the first ages. It consists of Protestants, and that is a sufficient answer. But, even without observing the hatred expressed by avowed heretics, men can never have long to wait upon this road for remarking spite and malice contradicting itself, evinced towards the Catholic priesthood by men of a proud worldly wisdom, and by men of immoral and profligate lives. Sidonius Apollinaris can bear witness that even that early age had left the men of our times, in this respect, little more than the task of servile imitation. "If," he says, speaking of ecclesiastical elections, "we choose an humble man, he is said to be mean ; if one who holds himself erect, he is thought to be proud ; if less learned, he is ridiculed as ignorant ; if learned, he is proclaimed as inflated ; if severe, he is shunned as cruel ; if indulgent, he is blamed for facility ; if simple, he is despised as a brute ; if sharp, he is avoided as cunning ; if diligent, he is deemed superstitious ; if remiss, negligent ; if industrious, avaricious ; if a quiet man, he is pronounced weak ; if abstemious, miserly ; if hospitable, gluttonous ; if austere, vain. They condemn freedom as improbity, and modesty as rusticity ; the rigid are not dear to them, and the bland grow cheap in their estimation *." "Our condition," he says elsewhere, "is not adapted to fit us to write the narrative of these times, seeing that religion is our profession, and that our hopes are fixed on future not on present things ; for, if men of the ecclesiastical order write, they are said to relate their own affairs rashly, those of others boastingly ; the past fruitlessly, the present superfluously. It would be disgraceful for them to record false, and it is perilous to relate true things. If we make mention of the good, little favour is conciliated ; if of notable things, the greatest offence is given. In our order, therefore, historical writing seems interdicted, of which the beginning is envy, the continuation labour, the end hatred. If we relate any things simply, we are called insane ; if exactly, presumptuous—si quid simpliciter edamus insani, si quid exactè præsumptuosi vocamur †."

Such was the conduct of the Roman Gauls towards the priesthood. It is true, however, that they are described at the moment when the general wreck of the empire was about to manifest the judgment of God on a society that was inviting ruin upon itself to execute his justice. The Church, in ordaining

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* Sid. Apol. Epist. lib. vii. 9.

† Id. iv. 22.

deacons, prays that, "hindered by no perturbations, they may ever discharge their free servitude." She knows what awaits them, and prays that they may be constant. Adelage, legate of the Holy See, wrote to Frodoard, canon of Rheims, in these terms, to express the difficulties of the episcopal office,—"nunc essem de numero damnatorum si fuissem de numero episcoporum." It would be impossible, in the brief space allotted here, to give an idea of the injustice and violence, of the persecuting hate, and of the jealous control of which the clergy, even during the middle ages, were frequently objects. King Robert himself, who is thought to have been swayed by the ecclesiastical authority in all things, at one time, succumbing to the philosophy of a mere secularized power, condemned to exile Harduin de Croy, bishop of Noyon, for having destroyed a tower, in 1027, which was adjoining his palace, inhabited by the Castellain, who held it in the king's name, exercising an insupportable tyranny over the citizens, and intrenching daily on the rights of the Church, pretending to direct both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the city*. Mondericus, bishop of Langres, was seized by order of King Gunthramnus, and placed prisoner in a certain narrow and unroofed tower on the banks of the Rhone, where he remained nearly two years in great misery†. The castle of Chilon can bear witness in our times, that to a government pretending to be popular the same class of men are as hateful as they were to the Merovingian tyrant. Hence arose the necessity for those exemptions and privileges with which the clergy in former times were invested. So in the collection of Burchard we find these words:—"The holy Apostles and their successors, filled with the Spirit of God, foreseeing evil men, and considering the simple, wished that there should be no accusation of priests, or at least that it should be difficult, because, if this were easily granted to secular and evil men, few or none would escape‡." In general, the aversion evinced for the Catholic priesthood cannot be separated from the aversion which has for its ultimate object religion itself, sanctity, the high ascetic virtues of the gospel, and, perhaps, as in the present age, even the order of society—still, after all, founded on a recognition of their value, without which no fruits of civilization could endure. That the enemies of the clergy are the enemies of all authority, and of civil government, can be discerned even by the adversaries of the Christian religion. "Here are two passages from the pen of Priestly," says Gibbon, "at the first of which the priest, at the second of which the magistrate, may tremble§."

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* Moët de la Forte-maison, Antiquités de Noyon, 341.

† S. Greg. Turon. lib. v.

‡ Burchardi Decret. lib. i. c. clxxxiii.

§ Vol. x. 54.

Why is the Catholic priest detested? Why is he who announces truth deemed an enemy, since all men love truth? "It is," replies St. Augustin, "that they love truth so well, that those who have another love wish that the object of that love should be truth; and, unwilling to be deceived, they are unwilling to be convinced of their error; therefore they hate him by whom the falsehood of what they love is made manifest*." Men seek not to be troubled either in the forum of conscience or in that of the civil tribunals, and it is not difficult to perceive that it is the desire of this kind of emancipation which renders the Catholic priest an object of such odium to many.

Writing to Donna Maria de Padiglia, to exhort her to advise her husband, Don John de Padiglia, to return to his allegiance, the holy priest, Antonio de Guevara, pleads guilty to the charge which renders such men hateful. "I am not sorry," he says, "for what you say in your letter, though I am sorry for what I have to answer. You say that, by my letter to your husband, one can see that it was written by an irregular, debauched, rash, insolent, and dissolute monk; and that if I were in the world I should not have dared to write such things, and that there is not on my tongue a word of truth; and you complain, that since I have written that letter, and spoken to your husband, he has been always melancholy, pensive, and unhappy†." It is a very unhappy thing, no doubt, to be in the situation of the tyrant Ebroin, when confronted with St. Léger. "Sanctum Leodegarium," we read, "ideo habuit suspectum, quia eum superare non valebat in verbo‡." The sophists of France in the late reign, brought only very old complaints against the French bishops, who remonstrated against the impious instruction of the University. They said to each prelate, like King Achab to Elias, "Tu ne es ille qui conturbas Israel? you trouble consciences." But there were not wanting voices to reply, with Elias, when he descended from Carmel, "Non ego turbavi Israel, sed tu et domus patris tui, qui dereliquistis mandata Domini et secuti estis Baalim§." It is not the world that says there should be a class of men every where, "who in new wine should be drunk, passing, ascetic preachers, through the world, inviting drunkard's sneer and jest from those that drink of Sodom's vine." Yet to the world every Catholic priest is sent to stir all impious spirits and goad them into rage, even by the spectacle of his spotless life; like that described by Sidonius Apollinaris—"desirous of knowledge, heedless of money, abstemious amidst feasts, poorly clad among those wearing purple, precious, even by his rough coarseness, amidst the myrrh'd,

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* Conf. x. 23.

† Les Lettres Dorées, liv. iii.

‡ Ap. Dom. Pitra, Hist. de S. Léger.

§ 3 Reg. xviii.

pommaced, perfumed satraps of kings*." "If what flatters men in their pleasure," Epicurus said, "could at the same time deliver them from the fear of the Gods and of death, I should be wrong to reprove them, as nothing could then trouble the tranquillity of their state." The Catholic priest, however, has higher, nobler, and far more profound views of the grounds of his obligation; for, were they even delivered from that fear, he would no less raise his voice to reprove what Catholicity condemns. The bishop is advised to keep silence, to overlook; but he exclaims in reply, with St. Thomas of Canterbury, "Clavum teneo, et ad somnum me vocas?" The bishop admonishes the bishop, the priest the priest, in words like those of Fulbert of Chartres to the Archbishop Leuthericus, of Sens—"Be circumspect; earthly spirits insolently hiss, the floods of the world swell, the promontories of mundane power threaten destruction, and manners, like pirates, lay snares. Inter hæc omnia tendendum ad portum cœlestis patriæ†." Such men, indeed, are chosen and set apart for the very reason that they do not seek to please men to their ruin; for, to take one example, hear the motives which were urged on presenting Simplicius as qualified to occupy the See of Bourges:—"He is a man," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "alien from all popularity; he captivates the favour, not of all, but only of the good; for he seeks more to do men service than to please them. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I pronounce that Simplicius is the man who ought to be chosen bishop of this province‡." Ives de Chartres, writing to the noble Countess Adela, proves that the same character might have been ascribed to himself; for, "malim hominum incurrere malivolentiam," he says, "quam legem Dei mei derelinquere§." But let us observe the Catholic clergy confronted with the governments of the earth, that we may appreciate the signal directing to truth, which consists in the moderation and intrepidity with which they discharge their holy office. It is not through coarse ignorance and blunt vulgarity that they whose minds are sweetened with a sense of the divine presence will ever give offence to men, whatever be their state. "Before all things," says their great representative, St. Augustin, "I seek that your religious prudence should bear in mind that there is nothing in this life, and especially in these times, more easy and joyous, and more acceptable to men, than for a bishop, or priest, or deacon, to act in an adulatory manner—perfunctorie atque adulatoriè; but nothing with God more miserable, and sad, and damnable—sed nihil apud Deum miserius et tristius, et damna-

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* Epist. lib. viii. 3.

† Fulberti Carnot, epist xxvii.

‡ Epist. lib. vii. 10.

§ Ivon Carnot, ep. v.

bilius. So there is nothing in this life, and especially in these times, more difficult, laborious, and perilous, than for a bishop, priest, or deacon, to perform his duty as our emperor commands; but with God nothing more blessed [*]." The Catholic priest does not begin rudely, like the messenger in the Greek play, saying,—

> —— *εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγω φίλα,*
> *οὐχ' ἥδομαι· τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ἐξείρηχ' ὅμως* [†]:

nor does he adopt the rough style of Demaratus, who, after hearing the questions of Xerxes, proceeded to interrogate him in his turn, saying, *Βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθηΐη χρήσομαι πρός σε ἦ ἡδονῇ*;" but evincing more address, for true charity often forms the best diplomatic school, he combines no less with moderation and gentleness firmness and constancy. In the year 1258, the English prelates, in their preface to the articles presented to the king, used these words—" There are, in fact, certain points on which the prelates of England cannot in any manner keep silence, there are others on which they can keep silence through charity, but not through trouble of mind and weakness; in fine, there are others on which they can keep silence without running any risk of eternal salvation, and without placing their souls in danger [‡]." " I should grieve," said St. Thomas of Villanova, " to give his majesty reason to be offended with me; but it would be much worse for me to offend God. If, however, unhappily his majesty is offended, here is the key of my cell, which I carry still at my girdle; and I assure you that I would much prefer returning there, with the prospect of living and dying within it, to remaining in a palace." Priests, if we might use an Homeric image in reference to them, are the true Phæacians, who guide and convey wanderers to their country; and the God of this world, like Neptune, threatens them in consequence.

> ——— *ἵν' ἤδη σχῶνται, ἀπολλήξωσι δὲ πομπῆς*
> *ἀνθρώπων·*

The waves of the great world rage and swell against us may, the clergy say,—

> *οὕνεκα πομποὶ ἀπήμονες εἰμὲν ἁπάντων.*

Hirelings, with hearts set upon advancement, and other bad un-

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[*] Epist. cxlviii.

[†] Soph. Trach.

[‡] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1258.

worthy spirits will then recommend submission and compliance, saying,—

> *'Αλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες.*
> *πομπῆς μὲν παύσασθε βροτῶν, ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται*
> *ἡμέτερον προτὶ ἄστυ·*

"Let us," they add, "sacrifice to the world, that it may be appeased and moved to forgive us; let us no longer pilot men on this voyage of life, and then we shall cease to offend our contemporaries." So the Phæacians feared, and prepared twelve bulls for sacrifice, and supplicated King Neptune, standing round the altar[*]. "Some superiors of the churches," says St. Isidore, "fearing to lose the friendship of seculars and incur their hatred, do not reprove them when they sin, and fear to correct the oppressors of the poor, not fearing the account which they will have to render of the flock committed to them; but, when the poor are oppressed by the powerful, good priests come to their assistance; nor do they fear any troubles arising from enmities in consequence, but they openly reprove the oppressors of the poor, excommunicate them, and fear not their power to injure however great it may be[†],"—

> "Omne trahit secum Cæsaris ira malum[‡]."

So thought many Englishmen when the eighth Henry reigned, though the sacerdotal type was not unknown in their once religious country, nor the sacerdotal mould broken, as his cruel and detestable daughter found when the bishops were awakened. Then returned the old heroic race of men, who scorned to avoid hatred or death by silence and consent. It is still the same tradition pointing, by the firmness which it inspires, to truth, as when John, archbishop of Lyons, wrote to Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, at a time when it was necessary to oppose the king, saying to him, "Remember what Christ said to his few disciples—confidite, quia ego vici mundum. If therefore you teach diffidence, you proclaim the victory of the world, and you take away the victory of Christ. It is a new and unheard-of kind of philosophy, to be secure in danger and provident in security[§]."

But let us observe the persons who approach from opposite sides, and watch the meeting,—

> "Look now for no flattering voice, nor fear
> The habit of honied words; a sterner tongue
> Draws hitherward."

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[*] Od. xiii. 151.

[†] D. Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 45.

[‡] Ov. Trist. 311.

[§] Ap. Iv. Carnot, epist. ccxxxvii.

Mark the men who are maligned for interference, when devoted to warn the nations from prevarication, and to plant in tyrants mild humility. "O admirable preacher," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, commenting on the words of St. John the Baptist, "Non licet tibi. He does not say," continues the archbishop, "let your serenity observe, let your majesty consider, that it does not seem just, it does not seem right what you do; but as to a slave, for he was the slave of sin, he says with power, Non licet tibi.—O that this miserable and deplorable age of ours had but one such preacher, who, not with a malicious mind like Luther and Calvin, but from compassion and charity, with a pure zeal and a pure heart, would thus reprove the lives of pontiffs and of the powerful *." Yet never were there wanting to the Catholic Church such preachers; and the sermon of the great monitor, so dear to Philip II., refutes by its own existence the oratorical exaggeration of its author. The archbishop himself was then a living witness,—

> "Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
> Flexit †."

But let us observe the mediæval clergy, when not even the fear of such a want as ever likely to arise was breathed. The blessed Anno, archbishop of Cologne, says an old historian, reproved the emperor, Henry III., with as much authority as if he spoke to a poor man, and that too on occasion of a great festivity, when the court was attended by all the nobles; and his words made such an impression that the emperor would not wear his crown that day until, with his own hands, he had distributed thirty-three pounds of silver among the poor ‡. Father Garsie de Menesse, of the order of Mercy and preacher of John II., king of Castille, who resided in the royal palace, where he lived as poorly as if he had been in his cloister, employing all the alms he could collect to ransom slaves, exposed himself fearlessly to the same dangers of offending the powerful. On one occasion he threatened the king with the judgments of God, if he permitted his troops to cause such horrors in Aragon and Navarre §. All kings did not evince however the same desire to receive holy counsels. "At this news," says Mathieu Paris, "the bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, and Hereford, moved by piety and inflamed with the zeal of justice, proceeded to Reading to address reprimands to the king, Henry III., and advise him to change his conduct. The king, hearing of their coming, took flight to escape from their salutary admonitions ||." When Philip I. of

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* Serm. de S. Joan. Bapt. iii.

† Georg. ii. 495.

‡ Rader. Bavaria Sancta, iv. 45.

§ Hist. de l'Ordre de la Mercy, 371.

|| Ad ann. 1244.

France had contracted an illegal and sacrilegious marriage with Bertrade de Montfort, whom he carried off from her husband, the bishops of France opposed him with such zeal and resolution that he was at length obliged to submit. On this occasion the king, having directed his chief efforts to win over Ives de Chartres, as the most eminent in opposition to him, finding caresses fail, tried violence; and, when his scheme of seizing upon his person proved unsuccessful, he declared the bishop degraded from his rank as fidele, and gave up his lands to be plundered. When Philip II. was about to divorce his queen, Isemburge, no one ventured to plead in his defence, till a poor unknown priest rose up and astonished the judges with his skill and eloquence, whose decision in consequence became unnecessary by the king's submission, imitating so far Chilperic, who, after conversing with St. Gregory of Tours, replied to his flatterers, "Victum me verbis episcopi fateor et vera esse quæ dicit scio*."

In fine, we must remember that this opposition of the Catholic priesthood was not confined to kings and to the powerful; since in every rank of society it was inevitably awaiting men who persevered in transgressing the law of God. Boccaccio informed Petrarch of a visit which he had received from a monk of the Chartreuse of Sienna, who warned him to amend his life, in consequence of which he sold his library and endeavoured to suppress the Decameron. Many however would in vain receive such visits, and refer their admonisher to another day, nourishing a secret spite against what they would deem a troublesome intruder. Hastings just before his arrest and death meets a priest, and to his salutation only says, "I thank thee, come the next Sunday, and I will content you." A few minutes after, he knows his own approaching fate, and cries, "Woe, woe! oh, now I want the priest that spake to me!" Thus, at least in death, the memory of the priest and of his services can awaken men to a sense of his divine commission, and of the truth of the religion which sends him forth to the world an intruder, a troubler of consciences, intrepid thus. But, to view from another side the direction furnished by a meeting with such men, let us observe from what motives and for what end in general they interfere in the affairs of life, and what is the sum and purport of their instruction. "In the ordination of clerks," says Ives de Chartres, "we are told—hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum—it is not quærentium conjugium, seeking a fortune, seeking advancement, but quærentium Dominum, and for that purpose refraining from being involved in secular concerns †."

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* S. Greg. Turonens. Hist. lib. v.

† Iv. Carnot, epist. 218.

To a divine, supernatural cause must it be ascribed that there should exist an order of men devoted to serve others without being swayed by any of the ordinary motives of self-interest which determine the majority of mankind in choosing an employment or course of life. Of course both history and experience can be called as witnesses to prove exceptions, "Qua ex re intelligi facile potuit," as the philosopher says, "nullum esse officium tam sanctum atque solemne, quod non avaritia comminuere atque violare soleat*." So Ægidius Gabrielus, in contrasting the Christian and the diabolic morality, says, that "inordinate self-love easily gets rid of the sacerdotal obligations, teaching, that if the benefice be inadequate no one is bound to keep choir; but that it is a sacrilege worthy of the deepest hell, not to defend to the utmost the least source of emolument. Hence," he says, "some priests apply to lawyers; hence they extort fees for burial from the poor, and where no great honorarium is to be expected they are remiss. They are indignant if others meanwhile should instruct their flocks—quia ex concursu plebis ad alios quæstum suum diminui vident, aut putant, unde non est quæstio de animarum lucro, sed de offertorio †." But the very horror which such perversion is sure to excite in Catholics, whenever it is beheld, can prove how different is the ideal and general reality of sacerdotal manners in the Catholic Church. Sir Henry Spelman, in a book written for those who stood in greatest need of it, cited canons, and some of times, as Milton styles them, corruptest in the Church, which of course implies a very different character from what he supposes, to prove that fees exacted or demanded for sacraments, marriages, burials, and especially for interring, are wicked, accursed, simoniacal, and abominable. In point of fact, only voluntary offerings, and such as are prescribed by the ordinary, are accepted by the clergy; for where charges are demanded for sepulture, as in France, it is to laymen for their own remuneration that payment is made. "Deificum ministerium cum avaritia minimè colligatur," says Antonio de Escobar. "I do not object," he adds, "to those who are allowed to receive temporal assistance in consideration of their ministry—at illam execrabilem aliquorum secularium Presbyterorum avaritiam taxo quibus ovicula sine lana jam omnino perdita reputatur; quæ autem lana et lacte abundat, signi arietis loco collocanda effertur ‡."

"A theologian," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "should impart his doctrine gratis, and a physician his skill without

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* Cic. pro P. Quintio.

† Specimina Mor. Diabolicæ, p. ii. § 15.

‡ In Evang. Comm. tom. vii. 272.

remuneration, to the poor*." "Adducet consiliarios in stultum finem—that is," adds St. Odo, abbot of Cluny, "when preachers preached eternal truths for a temporal remuneration; then he has a foolish end, for he seeks laboriously what he ought to avoid†." So, when the present curate of the Magdalen in Paris used to be asked to preach for the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul, he always refused to accept any present, or, if prevailed on, he remitted it instantly to his own poor. Gratis accepistis, gratis date. "If our Lord, then," says Bede, "orders us to preach the gospel gratis, nor permits us to receive gold or silver from those to whom we preach, what peril awaits those who act differently? Remark," he adds, "what a grievous sin they commit, who require earthly lucre from their auditors, and for their eternal salvation labour not‡." "If an eagle that flies highest," Brother Giles used to say, "had a wing tied to one of the beams of the Church of St. Peter, what would all his power of soaring aloft avail him then§?" "Master," said a certain rich dean of Oxford to a simple curate, "I pray you what is this benefice worth to you a year?" "Forsooth," said the good simple man, "I wot never; for I made never accompts thereof, how well I have had it four or five years." "And know ye not," said he, "what it is worth? it should seem a good benefice." "No, forsooth," said he, "but I wot well what it shall be worth to me." "Why," said he, "what shall it be worth?" "Forsooth," said he, "if I do my true dealing in the cure of my parishes in preaching and teaching, and do my part belonging to my cure, I shall have heaven therefore. And if the souls be lost, or any of them, I shall be punished therefore. And hereof I am sure." And with that word the rich dean was abashed, and thought he should be the better, and take more heed to his cures and benefices than he had done. "This tale," adds Caxton, "was told me lately by a worshipful priest." With such worshipful priests the present road is thronged, as every one personally conversant with the Catholic clergy can bear testimony; and, indeed, the difficulty now would be to discover others of a different type. "God is my witness," says St. Augustin, "that I tolerate only, and do not love this administration of worldly goods; and that I endure it only on account of the service which the love I entertain for my brethren, and the fear which I have of God, demand from me‖." In a subterraneous chapel of the Church of St. Honorat, without the walls of Arles,

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* Dom. iv. post Pasch. Serm.

† S. Od. Mor. in Job. lib. xi.

‡ Bedæ Epist. ad Egbertum.

§ Bucchius, Liber Aureus Conform. Vit. B. Pat. F. ad Vitam J. Christi, 69.

‖ Ep. 285.

we found the ancient epitaph of St. Hilary, which contains these lines :—

> " Antistes Domini, qui, paupertatis amorem
> Præponens auro, rapuit cælestia regna.
> Spernit opes dum quærit opes ; mortalia mutans
> Perpetuis, cælum donis terrestribus emit.
> Gemma sacerdotum, plebis orbisque magister.
> Rustica quin etiam pro Christo munia sumens
> Officio vixit minimus, sed culmine summus.
> Nec mirum post hæc meruit si limina Christi,
> Angelicasque domos intravit, et aurea regna,
> Divitias, paradise, tuas."

Never man, we read, despised money more than St. Laurence Justinian, who seemed wholly to banish it from his thoughts ; but how many nameless priests are living throughout the world, who have attained to the same supernatural elevation ! Amongst all the French clergy whom he has personally known, to speak merely of what he is most acquainted with, the stranger does not remember having ever met one who in this respect fell short of it. For each of these priests resembles so exactly the portrait of the priest Himerius, by Sidonius Apollinaris, that one might really suppose it had been drawn expressly to represent him alone. " All the intention of his actions," says that ancient writer, " whether performed with celerity or deliberation, is Christ ; and, though every thing that he does is quiet, he seems never to be at rest. He is pleased with fasting ; but he acquiesces in taking food—the one through the custom of the cross, the other through charity—but both he practises with moderation : he multiplies his own duties ; he avoids meddling with those of others ; and, in his relations with other men, he is more pleased when mutual honour is owed from one part, than when he comes in for his share of payment. In society, or on journeys, he yields to his inferiors. His discourse repels all suspicion and calumny—in the Church he shows the simplicity of the dove, in the forum the wisdom of the serpent*." As from the desire of base lucre, so from all secret ambition and the pride of life, men must remark that the Catholic priest, in ministering counsel and warning to unjust men, is generally free. Cæsar of Heisterbach relates an anecdote to illustrate his proposition, that the least pride is fatal to the integrity of sacerdotal manners. " At the time," he says, " when Oliver, the scholastic of Cologne, preached the cross between Bruges and Ghent, a certain priest, named Segerus, in a religious habit, having a sign on his breast like the templars, a tall handsome man, of fluent speech, came to Brother Bernard, our monk who accompanied the preacher, and

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* Epist. vii. 13.

offered him a gem of diverse colours, saying that he had brought it from Sweden; and that it was of such virtue, that whoever wore it would be victorious. The other would not receive it; but, as he seemed anxious to have authority to preach, leave was given to him the same day to preach to the people. The next day, Bernard having preached, and Segerus being present, at the end of the sermon Segerus fell on the ground as if possessed by the devil. Master Oliver, with some clerks, ran immediately, signed the man, and carried him into the Church, placing him before the altar, where he uttered many horrible blasphemies against God and the same Oliver. He was tied on a chariot, and so conducted to his relations; but it is said that on the fifth day he expired. His preaching then appears to have been more from ambition than devotion. Some said that he had been in the excommunicated ship, which had conveyed for sale warlike instruments to the Saracens*."

But what is the purport, or the sum of the instruction administered by these men, whose motives are thus disinterested? Here, again, is a great signal. Evidently their object is the same as that for which the holy scriptures were delivered, as St. Bonaventura remarks, namely, "to teach faith, morals, and the end of man. To illustrate the former, Augustin applied; to enforce the second, Gregory; to explain the third, Dionysius. Anselm follows Augustin, Bernard Gregory, and Richard Dionysius; Anselm being pre-eminent for ratiocination, Bernard for preaching, Richard for contemplation, and Hugo for all†." Such are the divisions of labour followed to this hour by the Catholic priesthood, presenting to the human race an uninterrupted succession of true and faithful guides, who, as St. Augustin says, "nesciunt errare, nec in via pedum, nec in via morum:" the concordance of whose teaching constitutes itself a most eminent signal to the truth, one indeed so impressive, that it fails not to elicit the astonishment even of the Infidel historian, who, speaking of the Church in the fourth century, observes, in his erroneous style, "that such was its strict subordination, that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from an hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, being tuned by the master-hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate‡." In the ninth century we find the practice generally established, of priests assembling at the Calends to a conference; and it is true the simplicity and vigilance of the ecclesiastical synods attended with such minuteness to the conduct of these assemblies, that it even prescribed the number of cups which

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* Epist. iv. c. 10.

† S. Bon. de Reductione Artium ad Theologiam.

‡ Gibbon, iii.

should be allowed to them, which was never to exceed three to each*; but at such conferences there is no necessity of concerting doctrines, as Gibbon would insinuate, the object of their institution being, that, by meeting thus, a sense of immense responsibility may be the fruit of mutual exhortations. Here priests are reminded—"quod Deus minus puniet laicos," as the abbot Joachim says, "quam clericos et prælatos, quia minus de Dei voluntate cognoverunt†." Here they cite to each other the sentence of Fulbert of Chartres, saying, "Verba sacerdotis, aut vera aut sacrilega‡." Here the words of Pope Innocent III., in his sermon in Consecratione Romani Pontificis, are re-echoed, saying, "When an anointed priest sins, he causes the people to sin; for each fault of the soul is condemned more strongly, and that in proportion to the elevation of him who commits it."

The priest is a builder, not of words, but of manners; he is, to use the expression of Cicero, an architect of blessed life; for, as Michaud observes of St. Bernard, "he preaches, without ceasing, moderation to kings, humanity to the people, and poverty to the clergy." His mission is not to teach languages or sciences, chymistry or geology, but the law of God—by example first, and then by precept. "Therefore all new priests," says Hincmar, "are to be taught ut ab amore vel amicitia mundi se abstineant, and that they should teach all Christians to fly the same§." Father Justin, of St. Leonard, preaching once on the first Sunday of Advent, the Prince Infant, governor of the states of Castile, returned so pale and downcast, that the nobles who attended him inquired if he were sick. "No," he replied, "but never man has made me tremble before. Father Justin has so spoken of the judgments of God, that methinks I hear him still warning me to lead such a life that I may avoid the fearful doom of sinners‖." The priest, indeed, may have an intimate acquaintance with all polite literature; but that acquirement is not essential; to some it might prove even an injury. The mere man of letters he is never, without being detected by the instinct of the world as a prevaricator. In the eighth session of the council of Lateran, under Leo X., it was decreed that no person intended for sacred orders should devote more than five years to the study of philosophy and poetry; but that, at the end of that period, he should diligently apply himself to the sciences of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence—"ut in his sanctis et utilibus professionibus sacerdotes Domini inveniant unde infectas

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* Regino Abb. Prum. de Cath. Discip. lib. 1. 109.
† Abb. Joachim super Hierem. c. 2.
‡ Fulberti, Carnot. epist. cix.
§ Hincmari Rhem. epist. ii.
‖ Hist. de l'Ordre de la Mercy, 344.

philosophiæ et poësis radices purgare et sanare valeant*." He teaches what the immaculate spouse ordains and wishes—that the will of God may be done on earth as it is in heaven: therefore, nulli sacerdoti liceat canones ignorare†, for they have no other object. He interprets all things for the extension, and to the end, of charity. "Quicunque ergo ecclesiasticus doctor," says Ives de Chartres, "ecclesiasticas regulas ita interpretatur aut moderatur ut ad regnum caritatis cuncta quæ docuerit vel exposuerit referat, nec peccat nec errat, cum saluti proximorum consulens ad finem sacris institutionibus debitum pervenire intendat‡." "Let bishops," says St. Bruno, "let all hear this. Let no one presume to preach the gospel until he has ascended the mountain of peace and mercy§." The Catholic priest, moreover, urges the lesson of the Abbot Joachim, saying, "Laics must not suppose that while they continue to live sinfully they can derive benefit from the sacrifice of priests, or from the prayers of monks‖." Above all, the priest furnishes the great signal, pointing to the truth of Catholicism in a manner that no one ought to mistake, by preaching to the poor. "To preach to the poor," says the Père de Ligny, "is as great a miracle as to raise the dead, or to make the blind see. Plaise au ciel qu'elle n'ait jamais une autre ressemblance avec ces prodiges, celle d'être aussi rare¶." An observation of this fact supplies, in every age, an argument that makes wide the avenue to the central truth; for here is proof of the divine mission of him who proclaims that centre to be in the Catholic Church, which never ceases for a day, in any part of the earth, to instruct the poor—not by fits and starts, as if by a sudden impulse arising from a sense of social danger, but calmly and constantly, through the sole motive of saving the souls for which Christ died. The world can behold what our Lord said should be pointed out to the disciples of John, when they would fain know whether he was indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world; it can see that, in the Catholic Church, the poor have the gospel preached to them: and this is so true, that an edifice, however majestic, about whose portals no poor can be remarked, is set down in the mind of every one who passes as being some Protestant temple. Now it is certainly no exaggeration to say, that an observation of this kind may bring conviction to some persons who might at first be inaccessible to every other proof of the divine truth of our

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* SS. Concil. tom. xiv. p. 188.
† Burchardi Decret. lib. ii. c. clx.
‡ Iv. Carnot. epist. 828.
§ S. Brunon. de Imitando Christo.
‖ Abb. Joachim super Hierem.
¶ Hist. de J. C.

religion*." But how is the gospel preached by this priest, so maligned by some, so reverenced by others, so recognized by all as being not of the world? As Baptist, the Mantuan, describes him :—

> "Id curæ quod vulgus habet pro corpore solam
> Transtulit ad mentem vitiorum acerrimus hostis.
> Si quando in dubiis nutabant pectora rebus,
> Ipse erat interpres ducens mortalia corda
> De tenebris ad lumen ; uti solet ignea lampas
> Longinqua de turre micans adducere noctu
> Turbine jactatos secura ad littora nautas †."

Independent of their subject-matter, the sermons of the Catholic clergy proclaim, by reason of their very style, so distinguished, even when most studied, by strong simplicity, that the road which such men recommend must lead to no phantasmal paradise, but to truth ; and it is hardly possible to pass through the forest of the world without at least hearing of these instructions. There are few to whom the celebrity of the discourses of Bourdaloue and Bossuet is unknown ; and how multiplied were the sermons of the Catholic priesthood once in England! To find a curious instance in proof, let us enter the church of Alhallowes in London, which hath had many fair monuments, as Stowe says, but now defaced. Lo! in the choir there remaineth some plates indicating the grave-stone of William Lichfield, priest, who died in 1447. "He was a great student," says that old writer, "and compiled many books, both moral and divine, in prose and in verse, namely, one intituled 'The complaint of God unto sinful man.' He made in his time three thousand and eighty-three sermons, as appeared by his own hand-writing, and were found when he was dead." It would be a great mistake to suppose that the sermons respecting which fame is now silent were without power on those who heard them. Who now knows any thing of those of Father Cotton the Jesuit, and of Suarez the Portuguese Franciscan, to which Henry IV. of France used to listen even with such pleasure, and which produced, as Pierre Mathieu says, a great amendment at court, if only perseverance had not been wanting ‡. Who, some few years hence, will know any thing of the homilies of Olivier and Fayet, the two successive curates of St. Roch, to hear whose lessons literally repeated morning, noon, and night, the faithful used to repair with as much ardour as others evinced to hasten to the opera? Certainly the stranger will never lose

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* The Rambler, p. xvii.
† Bapt. Mant. de Sacris Diebus August.
‡ Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vi.

the memory of those enchanting assemblies where, without art, without any premeditated eloquence, for five minutes' meditation sufficed them before mounting the pulpit, those preachers saw realized by their parishioners what the historian relates of the multitudes who heard St. John Chrysostom—a crowd composed of high and low, and of all ages, preferring their discourses to the amusements of the theatre or the circus.

"The preachers of the time of Caxton," says a late writer, "were not afraid to address an indiscriminate audience, with the conviction that, although the majority were unlettered, they had vigorous understandings, and did not require the great truths of religion, and of private and social duty, to be adapted to any intellectual weakness or infirmity." The sermon of the Catholic priest at all times indicates a conviction in the mind of the preacher, that it is an authoritative promulgation which he delivers possessing claims to attention wholly unconnected with any literary skill or rhetorical or any other kind of ability that it may evince. It argues an impression like that of St. Augustin, who says, that we should pay as much respect to the word of God as to the body of Christ, and that he will be no less guilty who negligently hears the word of God, than he who permits by negligence the body of Christ to fall to the ground * ; that we ought to hear men announcing it with as much veneration as if God spoke to us immediately or by one of his angels ; yea, rather, that with still more gratitude and love should we hear it delivered by men, since He so honours our nature by this ministry. "All," adds the holy doctor, "might be done by angels ; but would it be true that you are the temple of God, if God should give no answer from the human temple? Moreover, charity is assisted in this mingling of minds, which would not take place, si homines per homines nihil discerent †." "Say not, I am instructed and learned ; I have at home the sermons of Augustin, Bernard, and Chrysostom, which I can read ; for the voice of the preacher," continues St. Thomas of Villanova, "is living, and has a latent energy which books have not. How many hardened sinners do we see converted by hearing the word of God, and induced to a total change of life ‡."

To show the danger of hearing the Catholic sermon, without seeking and persevering to profit by it, St. Antoninus of Florence relates a singular legend, which the most cautious and cultivated minds need not disdain. "A great preacher in a convent of Dominicans," he says, "who was to have preached on a certain day, fell sick when the time arrived. The people

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* Lib. 50, Hom. 26.

† De Doctr. Christ. lib. i. Prol.

‡ S. Thom. de Vill. Dom. in Sex. Serm.

came to the church; and the prior, much distressed, went about anxiously, thinking what was to be done. At this moment a demon, in the garb of a friar of the order, came to the gate, asking for the prior. After the first salutations he said that he perceived the other was in some distress, as often happens to superiors; and he spoke very wisely on that point. The prior told him the cause. 'You must confide in the Lord God,' replied the demon. 'I hope in God that He will supply by me this want. You know that all new things please, and I have some practice in this art. Only let me enter the library for a moment, to have a glance at some books, and I shall not require much time, so that you need not toll your bells for the sermon longer than usual.' 'Thanks, reverend master,' said the prior. 'Enter the library.' Frater Diabolus entered it, and, as if to inspire confidence, began to ask for certain solemn volumes, as the Sum of St. Thomas and the works of Albert the Great; and of these he turned over the leaves for a while. Then he sent to the prior to say that he was ready. So the bell was sounded, and the people assembled, and Frater Diabolus went into the pulpit. There was a certain holy man in the crowd, who, seeing him mount the steps, knew him and wondered, but waited to mark the result. Frater Diabolus then began to preach on the joys of paradise and the pains of hell—on sin and the misery of the world; and with such eloquence, that he moved all present to tears and compunction. After the sermon the holy man accosted him, and, taking him aside, said, 'O vile deceiver of men, how did you dare to take this office on you? Certes you have some evil design. I adjure you, by the living God, declare it.' Frater Diabolus answered, 'Adjured so, I must declare it. You have heard how I have preached, and you see how I have moved the people; but I know them, and in a short time they will forget all—they will practise nothing, and hence all the words they have heard will serve to their greater judgment.' With which words he vanished*."

"There are men so rude in speech," says Antonio de Guevara, "that merely from seeing them begin to move their lips we search for the door; and in truth, in my opinion, there is no greater labour than listening to some men for a quarter of an hour; while for a thousand years it would be a consolation to hear another†." The rudeness, however, which proves thus repulsive is not the simplicity of a poor obscure priest. It is a vulgarity or an insipidity combined with great pretensions, as when we hear the rhetorician who thinks only of displaying his

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* S. Antonin. p. 2. Sum. Theol. tit. 9. c. 1. ap. Mag. Spec. 656.

† L'Horloge des Princes, lib. ii. 140.

singular ability, of whom we may say, with Virgil,—

——— "dat inania verba,
Dat sine mente sonum." ——

The Catholic priest does not appear, like Æschines, to have mounted the pulpit to make a trial of his voice, *ἐπίδειξίν τινα φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι.* Nor does he affect a style which is necessarily unintelligible to the common people. Without, perhaps, having read Cicero, he knows that his message is to be conveyed with simplicity :—" ut in ceteris id maxime excellat, quod longissime sit ab imperitorum intelligentia sensuque disjunctum, in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum sit a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine communis sensus abhorrere [*]." St. Augustin says, " Mavult reprehendi à grammaticis quam non intelligi à peccatoribus [†] ;" and he says again, " Melius in barbarismo nostro vos intelligetis quam in nostra disertitudine deserti eritis [‡]." What mattered such deficiencies when detected in a man resembling Richard, prior of Dover, afterwards successor of St. Thomas in the see of Canterbury, as described by William of Newbury, " Homo mediocriter litteratus sed laudabiliter innoxius et ne ambularet in magnis modulo suo prudenter contentus [§]." The Catholic priest, without being an Olivier or a Fayet, can preach at all times without any previous preparation, or the assistance of a manuscript, which is so inseparable, we are told, from those ministers of whom the ancients would have said, reserve such orators to cool your bath : for he has to speak as every man would speak on any subject with which he was most familiar ; and Cicero says most truly, " Omnes in eo quod scirent satis esse eloquentes." He combines, in fact, the two styles which the orator distinguishes, being alike impressive to the multitude and to the thoughtful learned class of auditors. His discourse is clear and calm. " Nihil iratum habet, nihil invidum, nihil atrox, nihil miserabile, nihil astutum : Casta verecunda, virgo incorrupta quodammodo. Itaque sermo potius quam oratio dicitur." Truly we may say of it, that it indicates manners ; and that, as Quintillian adds, " animi secreta detegit ;" for, as the ancients said, " Qualis vir, talis oratio." It is the priest who answers the description of the perfect orator, so far as the condition required in the words, " Neque erit perfectus orator, nisi qui honeste dicere et sciet, et audebit ;" since no one ever supposes for a moment that the Catholic priest will want courage to announce, under any circumstances, the high lessons which he is sent to preach. As Dante says, the sound of truth is mighty on the lips of such men,—

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[*] De Oratore, i.

[†] In Ps. cxxxviii.

[‡] In Ps. xxxvi.

[§] Rer. Ang. iii. 8.

——— "Nor do they need
Beside the Gospel other spear or shield
To aid them in their warfare for the faith *."

Though, having all the riches of ancient philosophy and erudition, and history, at command, their discourse need want no strength which those who give rules to orators require, saying with Cicero, "Commemoratio antiquitatis, exemplorumque prolatio summa cum delectatione et auctoritatem orationi affert, et fidem †," yet in general they avoid availing themselves of such resources. James de Muros, bishop of Ciutad Rodrigo, when a celebrated preacher at Salamancha used always to defend the plainness of his own sermons by citing the express canon of the council of Sens—"ut in concionibus prophanarum legum minime necessariarum citationes, poetarumque authoritates superfluæ, subtilium quæstionum et plerumque futilium inanes allegationes, minime fiant ‡." In early times, we find St. Isidore of Damietta urging upon the monk Theopompus the necessity of adopting the simple Christian style of preaching, and of abandoning the vanity of pompous language, which would qualify him more for the theatre than the pulpit.

The priest, whether he protracts or curtails his discourse, may be said to deliver his commission briefly. A few minutes are found too long to sit at the feet of the minister who consents to adapt all his words to suit the appetite of his refined auditors, whom he seeks to flatter; while the hour of the Père de Ravignan seems but a few minutes to those whom he refutes and causes to tremble; so true is the saying of Philemon—

τὸν μὴ λέγοντα τῶν δεόντων μηδὲ ἓν,
μακρὸν νόμιζε, κἂν δύ' εἶπε συλλαβάς.
τὸν δ' εὖ λέγοντα μὴ νόμιζ' εἶναι μακρόν,
κἂν σφόδρ' εἴπῃ πολλὰ, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον.

In general, however, he studies the brevity which St. Francis of Assisi recommended, and literally observes the rule enjoined on poets, which admonishes them to say whatever is to be said in few words—"Quicquid præcipis, esto brevis." Above all, he so frames his sermons, as knowing that mere discourse, unaided by interior truth speaking to his auditors, can teach nothing but words; that, if they are instructed by him, it is "the eye of their soul," as St. Augustin says, "which discovers the light; and that his words only admonish them to consult the truth which resides in the interior man; that, however clear and persuasive may be his discourse, it is not his words which move them, but God who

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* Par. 29.
† Orator.
‡ Hist. de l'Ordre de la Mercy, 405.

gives to them internal evidence *." The voice of thanksgiving is often substituted, therefore, for that of argumentation, by the Catholic clergy.

"In the month of June, 1233, a certain friar," says an old chronicle, "who was clad in a poor habit, as one of the order of Minors, came to St. Germain with a horn to call the people together, and with a loud voice sung alleluja thrice, and all the assembly answered, alleluja; and then he said, Benedictu, laudatu et glorificatu tu Patre, Benedictu laudatu et glorificatu tu Fillu; benedictu, laudatu et glorificatu tu Spiritu Sanctu; alleluja, Gloriosa Donna; and all the people, down to the children present, responded with a loud voice †." The lesson supplied by the Catholic priest will generally indicate, in a manner sufficiently clear, that he is not one of those men whom Rupertus so reproves, to whom are applicable the words, "Venistis quia manducastis et saturati estis," directed, as he says, against those who come turmatim to the altar, not because it delights them to adore the mysteries there commemorated of the incarnation, nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, but because they eat of its bread and are filled, that is, of the tithes and oblations of the faithful ‡. Such men, perhaps, can speak fluently; but the language of the heart is to them an unknown tongue. The priest, too, it must be remembered, knows his sheep, and they know his voice and follow him. It is not to long formal sermons that he confines his instruction. He trusts more to his talk by the way-side, to his talk to the children playing on the grassy knoll, to his conversation with the parents attending to their household affairs, and with the rustic labourer following the plough. Perhaps even to his answers to those who come to console him in his own sufferings, as when the martyr priest, Edward Barlow, being visited by any one in his prison, would not suffer the time to be lost in vain or worldly conversation, but entertained the party with such discourses only as were for his instruction and edification. St. Francis of Assisi, long before he began to preach formally, used always to speak of God, and encourage all whom he met to serve Him. Similarly brother Giles, as he travelled, used to exhort every one to love and fear God. In like manner, a holy Irish secular priest, well known at Lisle, who lately made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, travelling wherever it was possible on foot, and trusting to alms for his expenditure, used once at Dover to address the soldiers, after saying mass, with such words as, "I am not going to preach; I have no permis-

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* Magist. vi.

† Chronic. Ricardi de S. Germ. ap. Gatt. Hist. Cassinens. 807.

‡ De Divinis Officiis, lib. iv. c. 14.

sion; but I will ask you a few short homely questions; and then with his simple words he left on fire the hearts of all who heard him. "Consider," he would say, with true Dantean brevity, "that this day ne'er dawns again—

—— "'Raise then up thy head; for know
Time is not now for slow suspense. Behold
That way, an angel beckons to us *.'"

"Like a real shepherd," says Bucchius, "the spiritual pastor should carry bread and salt in a bag, that is, the bread of good life and discretion; he should use water for drink, that is, living water; he should eat green herbs, that is, have provision of good examples; he should keep a dog to guard the sheep, that is, a learned tongue; he should wear coarse raiment and a leather girdle, indicating that he despises earthly pleasures and subdues the flesh; he should sleep under a low roof, implying that he has no remaining city, but sighs after heaven; he should have straw for his bed, as significative of living an austere life; and trees and leaves for shelter in heat, representing the words of Scripture, which are his covering and his defence; he should have a crook for staff, as implying his dependance on the cross; a pipe to play on to collect the flock, denoting the voice of praise and prayer; and a sling for the wolf, to signify the justice with which he may put to flight the devil †."

Frequently, in fact, the human wolf who meets the priest upon this road verifies the poet's lines,—

———— "Abash'd the devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape, how lovely."

Priests, as was the case with the first Jesuits, like other shepherds too, were said to have charms, as sorcerers, by which they could fascinate and change men ‡. The French priests, when received into England after the first revolution, were thus strongly suspected of being able to win children by conjuration: and the Protestants used to dread their occult power, if ever brought into the presence of their sons or daughters. At the least caress exchanged with those they blindly loved, those parents trembled. That many were, in fact, enchanted and transformed by them, the city and the hamlet could bear true witness, though the secret was otherwise interpreted by the wise. Antonio de Escobar cites the saying of Seneca,—"Eum

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* Purg. 12.

† Bucchius, Liber Aureus Conform. Vit. B. Pat. Francisci ad Vitam J. Christi, 196.

‡ Bartoli, Hist. de S. Ignace, liv. ii.

elige doctorem, quem magis admireris cum videris, quam cum audieris," and applies it justly to point out the priest as fulfilling the conditions, since his holy, innocent, devoted life is the best sermon*.

τρόπος ἔσθ' ὁ πείθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος,

says Menander; and to the same effect, Aristotle—*οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν τεχνολογούντων τιθέασι ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ λέγοντος, ὡς οὐδὲν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸ πιθανόν· ἀλλὰ σχέδον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κυριοτάτην ἔχει πίστιν τὸ ἦθος*†.

Not from the lap of luxury does the Catholic priest come forth to preach penance and resignation. "Illa prædicatio reproba est," says St. Bruno, "quæ non de corpore castigato et mortificato, sed de carne impinguata et delicata procedit‡." "Have you ever remarked," says a great Spanish statesman, "the resemblance, almost the identity, between two persons that appear the most distinct and contrary—the priest and the soldier? Neither lives for himself, or for his family; the glory of both is self-sacrifice. If you consider the hard life of the priest, the priesthood will seem a true warfare; while the holy service rendered to society by the soldier makes his life appear a true priesthood: both are ready to die for their king, for their brethren." Both identify themselves with the cause they advocate. St. Peter of Alcantara had such devotion to the passion of our Lord, that, leaving the sacristy to say mass, he used to feel as if he was about to ascend Calvary. In ordaining deacons, the pontiff sings these words, which express the general character of the clergy:—"Abundet in eis totius forma virtutis, auctoritas modesta, pudor constans, innocentiæ puritas." Celestial wisdom, virtuous manners, and a daily observance of justice are to distinguish those who are chosen to be priests. So the pontiff sings, "Censuram morum exemplo suæ conversationis insinuent—eluceat in eis totius forma justitiæ;" an expression well worthy of being remarked by those who would place narrow limits to the action of the clergy. He prays, "ut in lege Dei die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant, quod docuerint imitentur; justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem cæterasque virtutes in se ostendant§." The type of such men is given by Adam of St. Victor, in his prose of St. Andrew:—

"Fide, vita, verbo, signis
Doctor pius et insignis,

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* In Evang. Com. vi. 238.

† Rhet. 1. 2.

‡ S. Brun. Exposit. de Confessoribus.

§ Rom. Pont. de Ordin. Presb.

Cor informat populi.
Mens secura, mens virilis,
Cui præsens vita vilis
Viget patientia."

And, if we prefer taking historical examples to citing those which are still present on all sides, we can observe this type fulfilled by that great St. Léger, as described by the anonymous monk, saying, " virilitatem cælestis civis senescens mundus, gravatus vitiis, non valuit sustinere." In every age men have been occasionally struck at the manly courage of the Catholic clergy. Two hours after the murder of Henry, duke of Guise, when Dourgin, the king's chaplain, was brought into the room where he lay, covered with the Turkey carpet on which he had fallen, the bystanders seemed to recover their breath, on observing that there was one man living who, under the same roof with the murderous king, had the valour to express sorrowful amaze. " Jésus, le grand malheur!" exclaimed this priest, before reciting the De profundis*.

Here there is a fitting place to mark, for a few moments, the accessory mission by other labours besides those of preaching committed to the men who meet us here, offering themselves as guides to the central truth from which all obstinate returns lead to ruin. He may well speak of peace, who loves and promotes it in all the relations with which he finds himself in life, and the society of men. And the Catholic priest is eminently one of those the poet loves—

——— " Aversos soliti componere amicos."

One day Lopez de Vega was grievously insulted. The offender, on his remonstrating with him, forgetting the new character of his opponent, challenged him to combat. " Let us go," he cried. " Yes, let us go," replied the old soldier, now a priest; " let us go to the altar, I to say mass and you to serve it." The priest, too, seems to have a mission to fulfil even in regard to the style of social intercourse. Nothing in the language or conduct of the Catholic clergy savours of the world in regard to spite or malice. " As a priest must be a model to his flock, hold raillery in horror," says St. Isidore of Damietta to the priest Dorotheus. But no men are more skilled in the use of innocent mirth to aid their lessons, as the letters of Antonio de Guevara can bear witness. Thus he concludes a letter of reproof to Don Garcy Sanchez de la Vega, with this arch sentence,—" I send you a beautiful prayer-book; and I prophesy already, that before you and your ladies have prayed from these leaves, you

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* René de Bouillé, Hist. des Ducs de Guise, iii. 317.

will have murmured against my words*." Who knows not, again, that the Catholic priest is the poor man's friend as well as instructor; the poor man's protector, advocate, and the ready patron to intercede for all the miserable? He may truly say of his blessed order,—

"From unremember'd ages we,
Gentle guides and guardians be,
Of poor oppress'd mortality."

"Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt," say the canons, "dona à sacerdotibus refutanda†." So in the play of Lopez de Vega, entitled, the best Alcade is the King, when Don Tello de Neyra outrages the peasant Sanchos, the latter, on applying to the king for redress, says, "Our curate, whom we all venerate, and also a blessed abbot, and holy man who resides at St. Pelagio, of Samos, in vain implored him to have pity on me." On his journey to the monastery of Cava, Dom Mabillon and his companion stopt for a night among the mountains, in the castle of an illustrious baron, who received them hospitably. "Under the room in which we passed the night," he says, "we heard moans and complaining voices, as if from a subterraneous place. We went to the master of the house to beseech him to interrogate these Manes, for such one might have supposed must be the suppliant. It was a peasant, who was imprisoned for violating the hunting laws. His moans profited him, for at our earnest supplication the man was released from his dungeon next day‡." What tempests of indignation have raged against the devoted priesthood of oppressed states, in consequence of its fearless opposition to the cruel men, who take advantage of their distance from the chief government to trample on the poor! Where is this priest's authority, they ask, to interfere in matters of such secular concern? but he replies age after age, in the same calm noble words that our great poet would ascribe to him, saying,—

——— "From that supernal judge
That stirs good thoughts in any breast.
Of strong authorities to look into
The blots and stains of right—that
Judge hath made me guardian of
The poor, under whose warrant
I impeach thy wrong."

All the ancient historians acknowledge the services of the Catholic clergy in this respect during the early and middle ages.

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* Liv. 1.

† Burchardi Decret. lib. v. c. 39.

‡ Iter Italicum, 115.

As we before observed, kings themselves were not exempted from hearing their remonstrances. When Sigebert was preparing to effect the death of his brother, we are told of the prayers and intercession of St. Germain, bishop of Paris, which were offered in vain*. In the reign of Louis-le-Gros, in 1124, when the emperor and his forces had retired from Rheims, which they had besieged, the French army, with the consent of the king, determined to carry the war into the enemies' territory, to punish the Germans for having intended evil to France. This was their resolution; but moved, as Velly observes, by the prayers of the archbishops, and bishops, and monks, who besought the king, with tears, to spare so many unfortunate people, whose only crime consisted in their having a master, he changed his mind, and disbanded his army†.

When the insurrection in Granada had lasted for several days, the messengers from the government with pacific proposals to the populace having been stoned, while the citizens under organized leaders seemed resolved to conquer or die, Talavera, the archbishop of Granada, decided on trying the effect of his personal influence by visiting in person the disaffected quarter. This noble purpose he put in execution in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of his friends. He was attended only by his chaplain, bearing the crucifix before him, and a few of his domestics on foot. At the sight of the venerable pastor the passions of the multitude were stilled. The people knelt down and kissed the hem of his robe. The count of Tendilla, learning the issue, followed, threw his bonnet among the mob in token of his pacific intentions, and from that moment order was restored, the people laying down their arms. On reading this narrative, the example of another good shepherd, acting in a similar manner, will occur to every one's recollection, the issue being different; but there is a race of infidels within the heart of Europe more implacable in malice against the Catholic priesthood than Moors were ever seen to be; and this recent murder, most vile and most unnatural, was but a fresh proof of what no one needed to be told before the streets of Paris had received the blood of a new martyr.

In general, one might suppose that it was impossible to mistake the signal upon this road, consisting in the political and social action of the clergy advocating justice. We can only glance at it. How many journeys did St. Germain of Auxerre make in order to deliver the people from oppression, and to intercede for them with the emperor! To develope this theme there is hardly a page in the history of any country that might not be transcribed; and then during the suffering of the people

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* Velly, Hist. de France i. 100.

† Tom. iii. 64.

in time of war, or famine, or pestilence, of course no class of men has ever pretended to compete in works of charity and devotion with the Catholic clergy. Anthoine du Four, of the Dominican order, preacher of the king Louis XII. and of Anne de Bretagne, their confessor, inquisitor-general, and finally bishop of Marseilles, was accompanying the king, in 1507, from Lyons to Italy, when, hearing that the plague had broken out in Marseilles, he thought it his duty to proceed thither; so he left the king and returned to his post, when, in 1509, he attained to that supreme good, for the sake of which he had served with such heroic zeal the flock committed to him. Though ages are not distinguished, the present page will betray no want of continuity if contemporary manners in the priesthood be related. While composing it, the bishop of Fréjus, hearing that his flock in Toulon were visited by a terrible epidemic, which carried off its victims in a few hours, suspended his pastoral course, and repaired to that city, declaring that he would not leave it while the pestilence continued. But take an instance of other perils encountered with the same sacerdotal fortitude. When the English governor, Fitzroy, wrote to Monseigneur Pompallier, vicar-apostolic of Western Oceanic, styling him "the principal Catholic clergyman," and offering him an asylum on board a ship from the hostilities between the natives and the British troops, that great and holy pontiff replied in these terms, "We have come here, leaving our country and family, to labour for the salvation of New Zealand. It is our duty to lay down our life for our flock; consequently I ask not to be removed hence for safety. Our place of safety is heaven, which is the bourne of all our desires. I fear neither pillage, nor fire, nor death, provided I can assist the flock confided to me. The sole thing that I fear on earth is sin, which is the cause of all the evils that afflict this world." As confessors, Catholic priests are sometimes met with in strange company; and the effects that are often produced upon men in health, who happen by chance to be confronted with them while discharging their sacerdotal office to the sick and dying, are sufficiently remarkable. The Turks themselves have been impressed with reverence on such occasions, and Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a singular instance: "Brother William," he says, "our chamberlain, before his conversion was a canon at Utrecht. In his youth he had taken the cross and sailed for our Lord's sepulchre. Before the ship in which he was embarked had entered the port of Acre, he and several others on board saw before the Aurora fires round the city in different places. The sailors thought that the inhabitants, in consequence of the summer heat, had pitched tents round the city, and that these fires came from them. Under this impression they entered the harbour, when they discovered that the place had been taken by

the Saracens; while, at the same time, for our sins the Holy Land fell into the power of Saladin. His son Noradin, a man naturally pious and benevolent, was then in the city; and he, taking compassion on the ship's company, sent a noble Pagan who could speak Gallic to say that they need fear nothing, though they had expected death or captivity. There was on board a certain noble Christian from Germany at the point of death, who sent by the same Pagan to Noradin all his arms with three chargers, imploring him to spare the lives of his brethren. 'I had vowed,' he says, 'to serve Christ for three years in these arms; but I see that it is not his will I should do so.' Brother William was one of those who presented these gifts to Noradin, who received them with much devotion, kissing them, and he sent back word that he would visit the sick man; he had died however and been thrown overboard, but another sick nobleman was lying in his place when the king came on board, who sat down by him and disputed with the physician about his disease. Then he presented him with an apple of a noble kind, which he said had grown in his father's gardens at Damascus, saying, that for his sake he was disposed to show favour to all the other Christians; and so he gave them permission, not to visit Jerusalem, to which he said robbers forbid all approach, but to return to their country. The said Pagan had asked Brother William, while on shore, whether the Christians in his country kept their law; and when he, unwilling to scandalize him, replied, 'Sufficiently well,' 'Then,' said he, 'it is not so with those who come here, for nothing can exceed their pride and licentiousness. See my vestments,' he added, 'and my shoes, how round and ample they are.' In fact, as William tells us, 'he had sleeves like a monk; whereas the Christians,' he continued, 'wore so many curious and precious things on their bodies, all arranged with vanity, that it was clear they could not be humble men; and doubtless,' he added, 'it is for their sins that they have been expelled from this land *.'"

The Catholic priest in discharging his sacred office, in that most mysterious, divine, and salutary part which consists in the hearing of confessions, does not meet the same favour from infidels in Christian countries, who, as in regard to other points, are always ready to join their voices with those of the heretics in misrepresenting it. Sidonius Apollinaris seems to have had some experience of these results; for, writing to Polemius, he says to him, "If the humility of our profession seem despicable in your eyes, because we open with the knife the squalid ulcers of corrupt consciences, Christ desiring by us to administer a cure for human lives,—which operation, in men of our order however

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* iv. c. 15.

deficient in regard to negligence, is never attended with pride,—I wish you to know that it is not with him who presides here as with the worldly judges; for, as he who does not keep secret his crimes is condemned by you, so he who with us confesses the same to God is absolved*." But the truth is, that those who desire to find men distinguished from the proud and fastidious world have a most remarkable signal to direct them to the centre, supplied by the practical humility of the sacerdotal character, in respect not only to the office of confession but to the general manners which result from all its functions. In the ancient formula, before an elected priest was consecrated bishop, the metropolitan asked the elector, "Quid vobis complacuit in illo?" when they answered, "Modestia, humilitas, patientia et ceteræ virtutes †." Cæsar of Heisterbach relates an instance of the favour which such qualities met even from the world's rulers. "Some time since," he says, "the clergy of Laon, on the death of their bishop, elected one of their brethren, a simple canon, to succeed him, and presented him to the king with these words: 'My lord, we present to you Dominus Emelricus, whom we have elected.' The king, in silence considering their form of presentation, answered, 'Whom?' 'Dominus Emelric,' they repeated; and the king said, 'Do you add nothing else?' and they, fearing that there was some cause of displeasure, replied, 'Nothing, my lord.' 'Then,' said the king, 'I have seldom heard such a presentation; for generally on such occasions some name of dignity is added by the electors, as, we present you the lord archdeacon, or provost, or dean, or our scholastic. I confess I am much pleased with this simple presentation of a simple canon, and I trust that the election is made by God. Often in electing men of previous dignity there are unworthy motives, and hence great injury to the Church.' Then, turning to the elect, he said, 'Dominus Emelricus, I shall not be wanting to you whenever you may want me.' Lambert, our monk, who related this to me, said that he was himself then in Paris ‡." "A priest," says Friar Weston, "ought to be as a young child issued out of the school and bosom of the Son of God §." Your simplicity, beloved brother, was the Anglo-Saxon form of salutation for priests, as appears from Venerable Bede and others. It is not merely men who have been received among the clergy, "ad titulum paupertatis ||," who evince the simple manners that strip their subsequent dignity of all repulsive terror in the eyes of young persons and of the poor. Catholic priests and bishops,

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* Lib. iv. epist. 14.

† Pont. Rom. de Scrutinio Scrotino.

‡ vi. c. 13.

§ On the Rule of the Friar Minors, c. xii. 6.

|| Pont. Rom. de Ord. Subdiac.

however noble in origin, eminent in acquirements, or exalted in dignities, resulting from a political order, have in their very countenances most frequently the simple natural expression of the poor, arising, no doubt, from a similarity between their hearts and those of the dearest brothers of our Lord. However elevated and refined by learning, they look as if they might have been yesterday fishing with St. Peter or making tents with St. Paul, and as if it would cost them no effort to return to the same work to-morrow. You feel assured, without remembering the picture of Velasquez, that the Prince of the Apostles would have looked so if robed in that chasuble—that he would have sung, whatever might be the musical capacities of his voice, with the same earnest, unaffected expression that divine hymn at the altar of the man-God: whereas, if the elegant and ingenious minister who opposes Catholicism were to invest his person in such robes, and then to proceed to make the least exertion in public, though it were not to exceed that required by giving an intonation to his utterance before and with the poor, a sense of incongruity would be immediately excited among those who personally knew him, as if he was letting himself down from the station which he occupied in society, and assuming a demeanour that was quite at variance with his whole life. The distinction is worthy of being remarked, as yielding proof also of a very important characteristic belonging to Catholicity in general, which is even by shallow observers sometimes objected to it. There is a false refinement, a false elevation, pretentious pedantical, which seems to ignore the realities of nature, and which causes at moments the minds of some men to revolt against all ideas of preeminence, as if detecting hypocrisy at the bottom of whatever assumes state and dignity. Catholicism is free from this evil. It takes and recognizes man as he is, shows that it knows him to be what he is, neither more nor less, ignores none of his miseries, takes him in the spirit of the Miserere, a creature conceived in iniquity, that withers like the grass, that is capable of becoming like the horse and the mule, in whom is no understanding—in the spirit of the Litany invoking the Refuge of sinners, and combines in its morality, and in all its æsthetical development, a sense of what is most elevated, most divine and supernatural, a use of what is most beautiful and majestic in art and eloquence, with an avowed recognition of whatever is most simple, most natural, most real, most wretched, worthy even of being designated as a barbaric element in the animal man. Not in the deepest recess of thought, when the imagination takes flight to contrast the highest with the lowest things, can any one who observes the priest or the ritual, the prayer or the vestment, the institution or the rule, discover the least trace of Catholicity having forgotten the humblest reality attached to human crea-

tures, or of its losing for an instant a sense of the truth, which seems most humiliating to those who court degrading associations for the purpose of justifying their own revolt against virtue and authority: and so, by what some designate as a sacrifice to the barbaric element in man, does Catholicity, as if making use of the savage to expel the savage, secure the human mind from that most fatal, most absurd, and unphilosophical of all delusions, which leads many to suppose that there is a certain wisdom, as if belonging to a secret society, in feeling assured that nature herself, by ordaining what has been ordained, intended her initiated to despise all social distinctions and all moral grandeur. If, therefore, the deep humanity of the priest, and of his office, exposes both at times to the reproach of barbarism, the distinction only supplies another signal pointing to the central truth. But to return to observe that humility, which seeks only free scope for personal exertion, and the discharge of all sacerdotal functions in their simplicity. St. Germain of Auxerre, hearing that the Emperor Valentinian, with the archbishop, clergy, and people of Ravenna, intended to welcome his arrival in that city with great honours, delayed purposely on the last day of his journey, in order to enter secretly during darkness; but the population waited for him all through the night with torches. The emperor and clergy met him therefore according to the plan laid down; and his entry was only the more pompous and triumphant amidst the general illumination. On that very journey, when crossing the Alps one evening, he met an old labourer returning to his chalet with a load of wood on his back. The poor man, coming to a torrent, which the melted snow had swollen, was unable to cross it; St. Germain, though himself aged and spent, took off the load of wood, carried it across, and then returned and carried over the old man on his shoulders. In the middle ages, as at present, the Catholic bishop had his palace; for how could a successor of so many saints refuse to accept the lodging provided for them, as filling the place which he occupies, by a believing and generous generation? But, as every one who has visited the episcopal residences of the Continent will acknowledge, the same prelate might be taken for a guest within his own house, and a stranger, casting an occasional glance of smiling wonder, with an unpossessed heart, at the beauty or grandeur of walls, with which he shows that he feels no connexion beyond that of a traveller who uses his hostel for a day. He fulfils the desire of St. Augustin, saying,—"Episcopus quasi hospes fieri debet, et privatam domum non habeat, sed quasi hospes esse debet, ut Christus ait: Filius hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet*." St. Peter II., archbishop of Tarentaise,

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* Burchardi Decret. lib. i. c. civ.

in order to avoid the honours which he received, fled in disguise of a beggar from his diocese, and was discovered as an unknown monk in an abbey of Germany, by a certain youth whom he had bred in his palace, and who, on this occasion, had gone in search of him from convent to convent, till he found him there, going out along with his brethren to labour in the fields. Joannes Georgius, bishop of Constance, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, wished to be so little distinguished from the rest of the clergy, that when he met the lowest amongst them he used to treat him with the greatest honours, and desire him to sit at his right hand at his table[*]. Such was the humility and simplicity of that great St. Boniface, when met on his missions imparting the divine life through the forests of Germany. "Ultimus," he says, "et pessimus sum omnium legatorum quos Catholica et apostolica Romana Ecclesia ad prædicandum Evangelium destinavit[†]." The style of the Catholic priest is admirably represented by one of the greatest French writers of modern times, where he makes his hermit use these words:—"What I do for you is a small matter; you should not ascribe the merit of such little assistance to priests. What are we weak, solitary men but the rude instruments of a celestial work[‡]?" He must have seldom met the Catholic priest upon his path who cannot recognize him in the description which Hilderic gave of Paul the deacon, when composing the epitaph of his cherished master:—

> "In te nam pietas jugiter, dilectio dulcis,
> Nectareus et pacis amor, patientia victrix,
> Simplicitas sollers nimium, concordia summa,
> Omne simulque bonum semper, venerande, manebat[§]."

Cardinal Palæotus intended to treat on the style and class of pictures which ought to be found in the houses of parish priests or curates[||]. That part of his work has either never been published, or it has been lost, since it can be found in no library. We can only indulge in conjectures, therefore, as to what might have been its contents; but we may securely affirm that he could have recommended no picture that would attract intelligent observers so much as the living portrait that remains painted in the mind and memory of every one who is conversant with the occupiers of such dwellings in France, or Spain, or Italy, which countries should be distinguished only as being those in which no antagonistic or controlling element can ever

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[*] Gab. Bucelinus, Chronologia Constantiensis.

[†] Epist. 25.

[‡] Atala.

[§] Hist. Cassinens. iv. 26.

[||] De Imaginibus Sacris et Profanis, lib. v. c. 9.

be supposed to exercise any influence over the pastors of the people, who elsewhere might be thought, by those suspecting and little knowing them, to stand upon their guard against the scrutiny of their avowed enemies. Here, indeed, in rural districts, and places far removed from great lines of communication, the first impressions of a stranger when he meets the curate—Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem*—may be repulsive, and even startling, as a distinguished English author felt, when at noon, craving provisions at a house adjoining a solitary church, which was not distinguishable from an ordinary edifice, upon a mountain side in Spain, the door was opened by a man of such rude accoutrements and rough commanding voice, that no brigand, issuing from a cave, could have more startled him; but concealing his suspicions, and proceeding to explain his wants, saying that he had not broken his fast that day, the owner of the house, who proved to be the curate, ran to his garden, a few paces down the hill, plunged up to his middle in a pond, whence from a box he drew a fish, with which he returned, smiling triumphantly, to prepare a dinner for the stranger. By the Capitularies of Charlemagne, priests are admonished to be hospitable to all travellers, for the reason ut omnis occasio rapinæ tollatur, and that some have received angels in their guests†. Few travellers are unprovided with some personal experience to attest the hospitality, simplicity, goodness, and intelligence of the Catholic parish priest. Let us hear one of the most determined enemies of the Catholic Church, whose books derive a charm from the glimpse he gives his readers of the places and men that he is engaged in attacking:—"In Pitiegua, four leagues from Salamanca, a small village, we were received," he says, "in the house of the curate, Antonio Garcia de Aguilar. I first considered him a plain, uninformed old man, almost simple; but I soon saw that I was in the presence of one of those remarkable men, who so frequently spring up in the bosom of the Romish Church, and who, to a child-like simplicity, unite immense energy and power of mind, equally adapted to guide a scanty flock of ignorant rustics in some obscure village in Italy or Spain, as to convert millions of heathens on the shores of Japan, China, and Paraguay. He was a thin, spare man, of about sixty-five, and was dressed in a black cloak of very coarse materials; nor were his other garments of superior quality. This plainness, however, was by no means the result of poverty—quite the contrary. The benefice was a very plentiful one, and placed at his disposal a sum annually of at least 800 dollars, of which the eighth part was more than sufficient to

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* Ap. Joan. Launoii de Scholis Celebrioribus, c. 5.

† Regino Abb. Prum. de Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 105.

defray the expenses of his house and himself; the rest was devoted entirely to the purest acts of charity. He fed the hungry wanderer, and dispatched him singing on his way, with meat in his wallet and a peseta in his purse; and his parishioners, when in need of money, had only to repair to his study, and were sure of an immediate supply. He was, indeed, the banker of the village; and what he lent he neither expected nor wished to be returned. Though under the necessity of making frequent journeys to Salamanca, he kept no mule, but contented himself with an ass, borrowed from his neighbouring miller. "I once kept a mule," said he, "but some years since it was removed without my permission, by a traveller whom I had housed for the night; for in that alcove I keep two clean beds for the use of the wayfaring; and I shall be much pleased if yourself and friend will occupy them, and tarry with me till the morning*." It is curious to trace the resemblance between this portrait and that of a parish priest in the time of Pepin, which can be found faintly drawn in an old chronicle. "St. Gamelbert," it says, "in the time of Pepin, had incurred his father's indignation when a youth by refusing to become a soldier. While subsequently occupied in tending his father's flocks, he was taught letters in the fields by some holy man, who met with him by chance. Having received this education, he became a priest, and then, on his father's death, obtained a share in his property, which enabled him to reside in his native village, where he became the parish priest. Wolfgang Slender, from an ancient manuscript of St. Emmeran's abbey, relating his life, speaks of him thus:—Through love of the Creator, he regarded all creatures with such tenderness, that, if he saw a bird taken from its nest, he would redeem it with money in order to let it fly away. If the weather was inclement, he would never suffer servants to go out to labour in cutting wood or carrying it home, or in any other employment†." Again, the Catholic priest is met with in the deep forests of regions the most barbarous, discharging his sacred office as a missioner sent to evangelize the human race; and all who read the annals of the propagation of the faith—those fascinating narratives rendering insipid most other books—are familiar with the apostolic manners, which at the present day, as well as in the first ages of Christianity, supply such a clear demonstration of the divine power that is employed within the Church of God. The same traveller in Spain who relates his interview with the curate describes his meeting with a missionary priest who was then returned to his country, and says, "This superior of the college at Valladolid, called of the Philippine

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* Borrow, i. c. 21.

† Raderus, Bavaria Sancta, ii. 119.

mission, was a fine old man, in the habit of a friar. There was an air of placid benignity on his countenance, which highly interested me; his words were few and simple, and he seemed to have bid adieu to all worldly passions. 'The Nationals of Valladolid,' said he, 'visited us a few days ago, and committed much useless damage; they were rather rude, and threatened me with their clubs. Poor men, poor men! I was forty years in the Philippines, my son; forty years among the Indians. Ah, me! how I love those Indians.'" Hardly any one has ever witnessed the departure of Catholic missioners for distant shores without feeling an especial direction to himself. "It would require a Spanish heart, and a Spanish pen," says a late witness, "to describe the scene at Marseilles, when, after kissing the feet of the sovereign pontiff, the fifty-three Spanish missionaries left our port for the republic of Venezuela, amidst the tears of their fellow-countrymen and the enthusiasm of the French city. It was truly an image of the embarking of St. Paul, leaving the faithful of Ephesus. Every one tried to kneel before them and kiss their venerable hands, demanding their benediction." So, with the voice of thanksgiving, they depart to those infidel countries, where, as the sovereign pontiff says, describing the episcopal sees in such regions, 'status plorandus non describendus.'"

Thus then, without leaving the familiar scenes of Christendom, the missionary priest is met with, and not without profit to observing men. Padre Bartoli says, that the Abbot Joachim, in 1200, spoke of an order of doctors and preachers formed on the model of Jesus, which was to flourish in the sixteenth century of the Church, to convert earthly and carnal hearts, and prove itself devout in obedience to the Holy See *. Few require to be told how well verified was the prediction; but under every ecclesiastical habit the Catholic missioner is the same: and we must not overlook the character impressed on these men, even by their habits of enduring danger and fatigue on their long journeys, which is not without its utility in drawing attention to the immense desire which is capable of producing such voluntary labour. The missionary priest is the traveller who, of all others, has often, Homeric-like, seen the world in its greatest variety, and passed through the strangest perils. When Father Possevin went from Rome to Sweden in company with William Good, the preceptor of Father Parsons, and Jean Fornier, a French Jesuit, setting out in December they suffered hardships which can hardly be imagined at present as belonging to a European journey. Descending the Ens from Innsbruck to Passau, the swollen river carried down their frail bark amidst trees and fragments of rocks, which were hurried along by its impetuous

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* Life of St. Ignat. lib. ii.

waters. From Passau they traversed Bohemia, arriving by Zeitz and Goerlitz at Frankfort on the Oder; thence, proceeding to Colberg, they embarked for Denmark, and, after miraculously escaping shipwreck in a tempest, landed at Anscheria, near Copenhagen, whence, after running great danger of being seized by the Lutheran ministers, they proceeded to Calmar in Sweden, from which port in eighteen days, passing by Lincoeping, Derebro, and Westeraes, traversing forests covered with thick snow, and lakes but partially frozen over, and provinces filled with fanatic preachers, they reached Stockholm*. Of their spiritual labours it would be long to speak. St. Vincent Ferrier converted in Spain alone more than eight thousand Moors and thirty-five thousand Jews. And we must not overlook also the daily action of such men in regard to the faithful themselves, giving a direction and colour to the society through which they pass, announcing by their words, by their habit, and even by their countenances, the gracious news of which they are the high-appointed heralds. He who meets them bears away generally some good. What Seneca says of the disciple who resorts to the schools of the philosophers, "Aut sanior domum redeat aut sanabilior," is verified in him; for we may say, in his beautiful words, "Such is the force of the true philosophy, that it assists not only those who study but those who casually converse with it. He who comes into the sunshine will be coloured by it; and they who remain a little while in the shops of perfumers bear away with them the odour of the place." We might almost add with him, in reference to the priest, "Necesse est quod prodesset etiam negligentibus—attende quid dicam: negligentibus, non repugnantibus." If men will refuse to proceed in the direction he points out, they only confirm the divine authority with which he spoke, by receding from the centre and perishing as he predicted. Nor is it a signal easily overlooked or misinterpreted upon the roads of life, when men are met with for the first time, before whom we see others kneel to crave a blessing, saying, or implying their full belief, that the Almighty has conferred such grace upon them, that whatever is done by them worthily and perfectly may be believed to be done by himself†. Protestantism acknowledges by its highest ministers that it can bless no one; for once it may be safely credited. Only by Catholics is the benediction of Heaven through sacerdotal formulas invoked, as at the commencement of new enterprises, and deemed practically useful, as may be witnessed at this day, when the neglect of such observances at laying the foundation of the Church of St. Clotilde at Paris has been deprecated by

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* Theiner, la Suède et le St. Siège, ii. 154.

† Pont. Rom. de Bened. Prim. Lapidis per Eccles. Ædif.

the workmen employed in constructing it as a source of personal danger for themselves. The response of Amen was used in the primitive Church to express affirmation; and at the end of a blessing by a priest it was to denote a belief in the infallibility of the benediction conferred by him, and not a pious desire of those who merely wish and hope it *. All through the middle ages the blessing of a good priest was asked and accepted as a rich gift. When St. Peter II., archbishop of Tarentaise, was lodged in the abbey of St. Oyen or St. Claude, during the two months that he remained there such crowds came to receive his benediction, that the monks were obliged to admit them by one door and let them out at another †. Those hands of priests, for which the bishop at their ordination prays, "ut quæcumque benedixerint benedicantur," are not even now spread or raised without exciting a corresponding faith in more than those who kneel; for many who have not the grace to acknowledge their sentiments by an external act, when the priest pronounces the invocation, "In sonorous formulas," as St. Augustin says ‡, "benedicendo erumpentibus, atque sonantibus signis ut respondeat populus, Amen," are instinctively drawn on to reverence in secret the puissant words and murmurs made to bless.

But hastening now to conclude, without of course attempting to explore so vast a subject, at which we can but throw a passing glance, it may be well, in fine, to consider again for a moment the social and political benefits resulting from the action of the Catholic priesthood, and the signal which they yield directing men to truth. "How comes it," asks an eloquent French statesman, "that when around us every thing decays, withers, and dies, there is independence in the clergy, and in them alone? Is it not because it is only religion which gives independence? Yes, that is no doubt the cause. If you except," he adds, "these religious men, do you find any where firm minds and strong characters? No; when the nation, corrupted and materialized, will fall like a corpse at the feet of despotism, who will raise it up? who will save freedom? Will it not be the clergy § ?" When the barbarians invaded the Roman empire, when the infidels convulsed Europe, it was the Catholic priesthood that may be said to have saved order, society, and civilization itself. The present and the future can be read in the history of the past, as when Mathieu Paris says on one occasion of great importance, "The determination of the lords depended on that of the bishops, but the latter stood firm ‖." When the first barbarians attacked the Roman empire, we see the bishops as prophetic sentinels

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* La Tradition de l'Eglise sur les Bénédictions, 15.

† Chevray, Vie de S. P. 117.

‡ Conf. xiii. 23.

§ Timon, Oui et Non.

‖ Ad ann. 1252.

predicting the tempest, preparing by penance for the scourge of God, hastening to Rome to call for assistance and to direct it, encouraging the terrified population, nourishing distressed cities, collecting under one flag the most divided legions, haranguing armies, throwing themselves before enraged conquerors, disarming them by words, putting them to flight, ransoming millions of captives. We see them, amidst this immense catastrophe, finding sufficient activity left to evangelize nations, convert savages, form young clerks, found monasteries, regulate minutely legislation, and possessing sufficient calm to study and teach on a vast plan every thing—exegesis, liturgy, history, dogmatic, patristic theology, grammar, and poesy, writing besides innumerable epistles ; in the height of the storm assisting at more than a hundred councils, and deliberating on the most important questions of the spiritual and temporal order. "At this spectacle," adds Dom Pitra, "we are seized with astonishment, and prompted to exclaim, God is truly there! we behold, in fact, one of the great Catholic miracles of history*."

The church in ordaining priests addresses God as "the author of honours, and the distributor of all dignities ;" and in consecrating a bishop she prays that he may abound in constancy of faith, purity of love, sincerity and peace. "Oderit superbiam," she adds, "humilitatem ac veritatem diligat, neque eam umquam deserat, aut laudibus aut timore superatus." She interrogates the elect bishop as to his resolutions to conform to her type of humility, saying, "Vis humilitatem et patientiam in te ipso custodire et alios similiter docere?" and he replies, "Volo." Again she demands, without the least intention to impede the rays of political illumination emanating from the Church, "Vis semper in divinis esse negotiis mancipatus, et à terrenis negotiis, vel lucris turpibus alienus, quantum te humana fragilitas consenserit posse?" and he replies, "Volo †;" for, as Pope Innocent III. observes, "the bishop ought so to cultivate the active and the contemplative life, that, like Moses, one time he may ascend the mountain and there philosophize with the Lord ; at another, descend to the camp, and there attend to the necessities of the people ‡." But Cardinal Gabriel Palæotus says, that "more necessary to a bishop even than the external acts is the true interior episcopal mind or disposition, for from this all the rest must follow §." History and experience testify that these prayers and expectations of the Church are not frustrated of their aim, and that, if the origin of her honours be divine, and the obligations she imposes immense, corresponding

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* Hist. de St. Léger. † Pont. Rom.

‡ Inn. III. de Sacro Altaris Mysterio, lib. i. 62.

§ Gab. Palæotus Card. de Bononiensis Ecclesiæ Administratione.

instruments are found in all ages to receive them, and to discharge them worthily. Indeed a sense of the responsibility involved in such honours produced in every age that unwillingness to accept them, of which Protestants and their allies appear, as of every thing but crimes, to doubt the reality. Over one of the portals of the cathedral of Noyon was a representation of hell, and two bishops were seen in the number of the reprobate *. It was bishops themselves who sought such visible admonition. At Bourges and elsewhere the clergy, docile to the episcopal voice, failed not to represent in painting, along with princes and great men of the world, bishops and prevaricating priests condemned to eternal fire †. As at the present day, the episcopal dignity was seldom imposed on any priest without a true reluctance on his part, and it is curious to observe how readily occasions were seized of refusing it. In 1259, the monks of Winchester understanding that the king, Henry III., would accept no one for bishop unless they elected one of his friends, fixed their choice on his chancellor, Henry de Wengham; but he, considering that the thing was litigious and uncertain, would not give his consent. In fact, he declared that he was insufficient for such a dignity and for the cure of souls, that he was instructed neither in theology nor in the sacred Scriptures. So he absolutely refused ‡. On the death of Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, Otho the Great went to that city, and was admonished, it is said, in a dream, to give the see to the person whom he should first meet after leaving his lodging. Early the next morning, long before daylight, he went to the monastery of St. Emmeran, and, knocking at the door, was admitted as an unknown stranger by Guntarius, a holy monk who kept vigils, and who proceeded to lead him through the house. After arriving at the altar, as they walked on, the emperor asked him what he would give to be bishop of Ratisbon; the old man smiled, and, looking down, said, "My old shoes." Afterwards, when the fathers assembled for the election, the emperor told his dream, and then, by general consent, Guntarius was elected bishop §. Ambition does not grow up with the honours of such men. "I often consider," says Ives de Chartres, "how it would delight me if, through the violence of the unjust, I might be under the necessity of laying down the burden of pastoral care, and turn whither I am invited by virtuous leisure, full of humble sweetness, of delicious luminous security; but again, I reproach myself for this thought, fearing not to follow the will of God but my own will. At length I conclude, that as I have not opposed

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* Moët de la Forte-maison, Antiquités de Noyon, 266.

† Monog. de Bourges, 174.

‡ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1259.

§ Raderus, Bavaria Sancta, i. 100.

the will of God, desiring the episcopacy, so I will not oppose it by despising it, but continue to discharge my trust, knowing that none of us liveth for himself. Therefore I dare not renounce this government and authority *." Sometimes however the impression of reluctance was irresistible. So we read in the Magnum Speculum, that those who were sent in quest of a certain holy bishop, who had disappeared, after long search found inscribed upon a rock by the sea-shore these words—"Hic transiit Maurilius Andegavorum Episcopus †."

The world itself is often moved with strong impressions that might lead it right when reminded of the grandeur, the supereminent virtue, and the prodigious works of the Catholic episcopacy. "These lords of the Church in the fifth century," says a recent author, "these princes of the new Christian world, almost all Roman senators, governors of provinces, opulent men, learned men, educated in the school of the ancient philosophers, the best blood of ancient Rome, deserve that the gratitude of the world should perpetuate their memory, and contemplate them in their sphere of splendour and of sanctity ‡." Protestantism itself seemed to look back with regret at such images, and, from a sense of the temporal and practical advantage required by social and political interests, to express a faint desire of attempting to recall them in some form compatible with itself; and therefore Burke, representing the people of England, rather perhaps as he would have them to be than as they really existed at the time, declared, that "they wished religion to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments—that they would show to the haughty potentates of the world, and to their talking sophisters, that a free, a generous, an informed nation, honours the high magistrates of the Church—that they will not suffer the insolence of wealth and titles, or any other species of proud pretension, to look down with scorn upon what they look up to with reverence—that they can see without pain or grudging an archbishop precede a duke, and a bishop of Durham or Winchester in possession of immense domains; and so," he says, throwing a veil over the sad realities that had broken in pieces the chain connecting him with the antiquity of which he vainly sought to bring back the wisdom, "our provident constitution has taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt nor live upon their alms."

Respect for the episcopal office and for the person of the pontiff is secured by Catholicity, independent even of any ordinary ground arising from personal services or merit. "It is of greater

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* Epist. xvii.

† Mag. Spec. 568.

‡ Phil. Chasles, Etudes sur le Moyen Age.

virtue," says St. Gertrude, "to be subject to him whose defects are known, than to another whose works are approved by all. Our Lord permits prelates to have faults in order to bring them to humility, and that the merit of those subject to them may be increased. Thus should we understand the super-effluent piety of divine wisdom, which so subtilly provides for the salvation of the elect, permitting them to have defects in order to lead them to greater perfection *." But if this provision, so exclusively Catholic, should strike attention, as it well may, in an age when all authority is of itself despised or absolutely ignored, the wanderer may be expected not the less to feel the strong attraction which emanates from the great and illustrious examples presented in the Catholic Church, of men who corresponded in their character and manners with her ancient and sublime ideal of the bishop. Truly marvellous is the abundance of merit from which she draws some men to eminent dignity. It is not all who have the graces of the highest place that rise to the honours attached to it. Catholicity has countless instruments in reserve; but it can employ only a very few of them in a conspicuous manner before the world. Pierre Mathieu says, that Cardinal Bounisy, whose innocent life was short, was sure of the keys of St. Peter if he had lived †; but consequences of this kind are not always so sure as men suppose. The Holy One and true, who hath the key of David, "Qui aperit et nemo claudit; claudit et nemo aperit," has in all ages called some from obscurity, and made them columns in the temple of God, to stand within it immoveable for ever. He has written upon them the name of God, and the name of the city of God, the New Jerusalem. Such men are the Catholic bishops and the illustrious superiors of religious orders. "Columna Christianitatis," exclaimed Gregory X., on hearing of the death of St. Bonaventura. We cannot pause upon this road to examine one by one the columns of the Catholic Church and of the state too, though it may not acknowledge what it owes them, standing majestical at the present day in the persons of living men, as they are found in history in the immortal figures of the primitive and mediæval Church. "Oh, if you were to see these priests, worthy of our Lord!" cries St. Gregory of Tours, enumerating some, as Exuperius of Toulouse, Simplicius of Vienne, Amandus of Bordeaux, Diogenianus of Albi, Dynamius of Angoulême, Venerandus of Arvernia, Alithius Cadurcis, or Pergasius Petrogoriis, "you would behold worthy guardians of faith and religion ‡." "Episcopi, qui salvos fecistis populos in civitatibus nostris, audite," says Theobaldus §. In days of adversity

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* Insin. Div. Pietatis seu Vit. et Rev. S. Gertrudis Abb. lib. iii. c. 84.

† Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vii.

‡ Hist. lib. ii. 13.

§ Eulalius de Sepulchris, c. 1.

the bishop was the first and often the sole public man to defend the people, or as often to defend or respect the memory of the very king who had persecuted him. When the body of Chilperic I. lay on the ground, deserted by the court after being pierced by the assassins, it was Malulfe, bishop of Senlis, who alone had charity to procure it burial; and he had been waiting since three days, vainly seeking an audience with the deceased tyrant. The bishop was often the sole advocate of moderation and of tolerance when the public opinion was excited against any class. At Vienne, a certain Jew being converted and baptized, one of his former brethren poured some fœtid oil over him as he passed through the gate of the city, walking in procession with the people. The crowd, filled with indignation, wished to pursue him with stones, but St. Avitus forbade them *. These Roman senators, and sons of prefects, on becoming bishops enriched the Church, and founded great social institutions with their immense possessions. Thus St. Germain gave up his patrimony to the church of Auxerre, erecting the monastery of St. Como and St. Damien beyond the river Yonne, the church of St. Maurice within the walls, that of St. Prisque and the chapel of St. Alban, besides constituting the cathedral, which he richly adorned, his chief heir. Accordingly the bishops of that see, all through the middle ages, proclaimed that they held all their possessions from God and the blessed St. Germain, formerly duke of the province †. St. Léger, bishop of Autun, was of a family that possessed during many generations, on both banks of the Rhine, forests, islands, castles, monasteries, and whose vast patrimony extended to the Vosges, and as far as the plains of the Saône and the Loire. This family was allied to the second and third dynasty of the French kings. All through the middle ages the bishop appears in the character of the public benefactor, the generous patron and intelligent promoter of every great enterprize. The churchman bears a bounteous mind indeed, a hand as fruitful as the land that feeds us. "Those pleasant walks on the river-banks at Sigüenza," says a Spanish traveller, "were laid out by the Bishop Diaz de la Guerra; for the bishops have been signal benefactors to their city. They raised the aqueduct which crosses a glen below their palace, and supplies the town,—a work of truly Roman intention, solidity, and grandeur." At Reims, in the sixteenth century, it was an archbishop, "parsimonious by nature," who at his own expense made navigable the river Vesle, built two market-halls, drained the marshes west of the city, established numerous fountains, repaired the fortifications, thereby keeping in employment the poor of the whole surrounding

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* S. Greg. Turonens. v. 11.

† Lefeuve, Hist. de S. Germ. l'Auxerrois.

country, besides erecting several monasteries and colleges, establishing the first printing-press, and creating a noble library*.

After a glance at their primitive greatness, may we not well ask what was there so wonderful or incongruous in adding the honours of the new civilization to men who had enjoyed all the glories of the ancient empire, that vulgar minute minds should complain when they hear of emperors having made the archbishops of Arles princes of the holy empire under the title of Mount-dragon, and given them the privilege of ennobling any persons of their diocese whom they chose? What were such privileges to them?

But let us hear the ancient guides pointing out a few of these sublime figures as they pass. "There," says St. Gregory of Tours, "you behold the blessed Bishop Salvius, of great sanctity, never wishing to possess gold; for, if compelled to receive it, he would immediately give it to the poor. When Mummolus, the patrician, was leading many captives through the city, he redeemed them all; and such favour had he with the people, that even those who led the captives abated somewhat of their demands for the price, and so he restored the captives to their country and to their former liberty †." "There," says Antonio de Escobar, "you behold the great Isidore, who, praying, preaching, writing, and instituting a most perfect life, may be regarded as the Elisha of Spain‡." So the Spanish Church sings upon his festival,—

"Quis fidem doctis reserare chartis
Aptior, cuinam graviore fluxit
Vena doctrina, studiisque fervens
Pectus honestis?

Seu pios mores repetamus, atque
Integram dio sub amore vitam,
Quanta se virtus aperit, fidesque,
Quanta renidet§?"

"There passes the bishop of Prœneste, a man," says Pope Gregory, "detached from the world and from the flesh, by the exercise of our holy religion, and who soars already through the lofty regions of divine love||." There walks St. Landry, bishop of Paris, thinking only, as the old historian says, how he can "Deo servire et prodesse populo," selling his vessels and vestments to supply the wants of his flock; there, in earlier times,

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* René de Bouillé, Hist. des Ducs de Guise, ii.

† Hist. vii. 1.

‡ In Evang. Com. tom. vi. 239.

§ F. Arevaldus, Hymnod. Hisp.

|| Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1239.

St. Léger, bishop of Autun in the seventh century, "one," says the historian Velly, "of the best and greatest men that Europe ever saw." So, when wishing to extol the qualities of Thierri III., he adduces in proof the fact of his having reposed confidence in the holy bishop*. The same historian, recording the wisdom and virtues of Guerin, bishop of Senlis, in the reign of St. Louis, says, "that he was a bishop worthy of the first ages of Christianity." But the fact is, that, in the judgment of men who possess in minute detail the history of the mediæval prelates, this eulogy seems to imply a distinction which has no foundation: nay, in consequence of circumstances being less favourable, we might add, that the world had no opportunity of witnessing in the first ages, in such varied and multiplied action, the heroic virtues of Catholicism. But leaving books for sculptured monuments of the dead, which should be always visited before concluding any great theme connected with Catholic history, we may remark here that the ancient tombs attest a constant succession of the same men. Truly impressive are these witnesses. On the sepulchre of Ives de Chartres you read,—

"Mente, manu, lingua, doctrina, corporis usu,
Prudens, munificus, affabilis, utilis, insons."

On that of Chronopius, bishop of Perigueux,—

"Sic vultu semper placidus, seu mente serenus,
Pectore sincero frons sine nube fuit †."

To see English bishops in Catholic ages pointing thus to truth by the innocence and majesty, and indefatigable energy in all useful enterprizes of their lives, we must indeed seek no longer beneath the vaults where sacrilegious impiety has destroyed nearly every monumental vestige; but, returning to books, you have no want of contemporary voices contending who shall most worthily set forth the great social and political benefits which they conferred upon their country. Hear how Robert, bishop of Lincoln, is described. "During his life," says Mathieu Paris, who, it is true, in one instance gives him a praise which we must hope was unmerited, "he had publicly reprimanded the king, corrected prelates, reformed monks, directed priests, instructed clerks, sustained scholars, preached to the people, pursued the vicious, and searched deeply into various writings. He was liberal, prodigal, courteous, gay, and affable at the table of corporal refection; but at the spiritual table he presented himself weeping, and with a pious and a contrite heart ‡." Another

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* Tom. i. 303.

† Dupuy, L'Estat de l'Eglise du Périgord.

‡ Ad ann. 1253.

example is that of Hugues, bishop of Ely, "who had constructed," says the same historian, "at Ely a great palace of stone, covered with lead, with dependencies, and had raised elsewhere also grand and magnificent edifices, all the while preparing celestial palaces by alms and other works of charity. Full of tears at the altar, he was liberal, joyous, and serene in the relations of corporal life, the flower of masters and of monks*." St. Edmond too might well be cited, of whom the bull of Innocent IV. relative to his canonization says: "Guided by the sweet concord of these three things,—pure intentions, perfect works, holy doctrines, which form as it were a psalm accompanied with a delightful music,—he has surmounted by the perseverance of his virtue the three enemies, the flesh, the world, and the devil; and, clothed with these three vestments, true faith, firm hope, and fervent charity, has deserved to be honoured in the citadel of the ever-blessed Trinity, with the victorious palm prepared for him by the three orders of the elect, the virgins, the continent, and the conjoined." In fine, to every one's memory returns the solemn and majestic figure of the great St. Thomas of Canterbury, of whom Peter of Blois says, that the "God of knowledge had given him an eloquent tongue, and had shed on him with abundance the spirit of intelligence and wisdom, so that among the learned he was the most learned, among the wise the most wise, among the good the best, among the great the greatest, a man timid in prosperity but in adversity constant." No nation that has had the misfortune to lose its faith is left unprovided by history with the memorials of such domestic guides, who, if any grandeur, if any holiness, if any noble combination of genius and heroism and sanctity can move a people, would be sufficient to lead them back to the road of truth. Sweden, for instance, to the last had bishops of the type of St. Thomas and St. Augustin. The great and noble John Braske, bishop of Lincoeping, Peter Jacobssohn Sunnanwaeder, bishop of Westeraes, Magnus Knut, archbishop elect of Upsal, both decapitated by the Lutheran tyrant Gustavus;—Joannes Magnus Gothus, the pope's nuncio, archbishop of Upsal, and Magnus Haraldssohn, bishop of Scara, such were the men in whom her episcopacy gloriously expired†. Solemn and slow, serene and bright, pass on these great figures; but, following thus their steps as bent on forward journey, this road has conducted us perhaps higher than we thought, and to a spot that we did not foresee, where is indeed an imposing hand stretched out in signum populorum. Still ascending, we shall soon find ourselves on a more lofty range than that mountain of Guadarama, whose elevated point, commanding the view of both

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1254.

† Theiner, la Suède et la Saint-Siége, tom. i.

Castilles, is described by travellers as filling them with enchantment; for the road that mounts abruptly here leads us quickly to the very top, the height, the crest, or crest unto the crest of all authority on earth. Yet, here especially, to some who may be desirous of accompanying us, we may apply the words of Demosthenes to the Athenians, and say, *πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔστι παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας*; for here pass daily those whom contentious study and the pre-occupation of daily error hinder from understanding. These will soon turn aside and leave us; but let us on and call the noblest to the view.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROAD OF THE POPE.

TRAVERSING an ancient forest, every one must have remarked the prodigious extension of the gnarled roots, which protrude, wind, and sink again, to develop themselves at a great distance from the spot where they disappeared through the soil. These vast oaks, on the northern side of the Hercynian forest, coeval, as Pliny thinks, with the world, form actually hills by the meeting of their immense roots, or sometimes, where the continuity of earth fails, arches, like great gates, through which bands of horsemen could pass freely*. Laws of perfect arrangement can be traced in every tree, plant, and flower. "The trunk of each tree tapers, according to a mathematical law, from its base to its branches; each bough grows smaller in the right proportion from its insertion in the trunk; each branch from its insertion in the bough; each shoot from its insertion in the branch; and the feeble stalk that supports each leaf from its insertion in the shoot—nay, the same perfect law obtains even in the fibres of the leaf itself." Thus the very trees and plants around us, preserved by means of members, formed and proportioned according to the most exact laws, to secure the durability of the vegetable structure, prepare us for comprehending the organization of that frame which upholds the moral life, and for appreciating the importance of the foundation on which the Catholic Church, which wants nothing to be complete, has been raised by the

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* Plin. N. H. lib. xvi. 1.

Divine Architect. Truly remarkable are the concessions of men, who wrote as philosophers from without her sacred pale, and viewed the development of God's eternal purposes, without being moved by their own will, co-operating with their understanding, to secure for themselves the good that they could recognize as existing by divine appointment. "As Christianity," says one of them, "served these great moral ends which I have now described, when it was first published by the miraculous publication itself, so it was intended to serve the same purposes in future ages by means of the settlement of a visible Church; of a society distinguished from common ones, and from the rest of the world, by peculiar religious institutions; by an instituted method of instruction, and an instituted form of external religion. Miraculous powers were given to the first preachers of Christianity, in order to their introducing it into the world: a visible Church was established in order to continue it, and carry it on successively throughout all ages. Had Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, only taught, and by miracles proved religion to their contemporaries, the benefits of their instructions would have reached but to a small part of mankind; Christianity must have been, in a great degree, sunk and forgot in a very few ages. To prevent this appears to have been one reason why a visible Church was instituted—to be like a city upon a hill, a standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe our Maker; to call men continually, both by example and instruction, to attend to it, and, by the form of religion ever before their eyes, remind them of the reality; to be the repository of the oracles of God; to hold up the light of revelation in aid to that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world. A visible Church has also a further tendency to promote natural religion, as being an instituted method of education, originally intended to be of more peculiar advantage to those who would conform to it. For one end of the institution was, that by admonition and reproof, as well as instruction, by a general regular discipline and public exercises of religion, the body of Christ, as the Scripture speaks, should be edified—that is, trained up in piety and virtue for a higher and better state. This settlement, then, appearing thus beneficial, tending in the nature of the thing to answer, and in some degree actually answering, those ends, it is to be remembered that the very notion of it implies positive institutions, for the visibility of the Church consists in them. Take away every thing of this kind, and you lose the very notion itself; so that, if the things now mentioned are advantages, the reason and importance of positive institutions in general is most obvious, since without them these advantages could not be secured to the world; and it is mere idle wantonness to insist upon knowing

the reasons why such particular ones were fixed upon rather than others. The objections against all this, from the perversion of Christianity, and from the supposition of its having had but little good influence, cannot be insisted upon as conclusive upon any principles but such as lead to downright atheism, because the manifestation of the law of nature by reason, which upon all principles of theism must have been from God, has been perverted, and rendered ineffectual, in the same manner. It may indeed, I think, be truly said, that the good effects of Christianity have not been small, nor its supposed ill effects any effects at all of it properly speaking. Perhaps, too, the things themselves done have been aggravated; and, if not, Christianity hath been often only a pretence, and the same evils, in the main, would have been done upon some other pretence. However great and shocking, as the corruptions and abuses of it have really been, they cannot be insisted upon as arguments against it, upon principles of theism; for one cannot proceed one step in reasoning upon natural religion, any more than upon Christianity, without laying it down, as a first principle, that the dispensations of Providence are not to be judged of by their perversions, but by their genuine tendencies; not by what they actually do seem to effect, but by what they would effect if mankind did their part—that part which is justly put and left upon them. The light of reason does not, any more than that of revelation, force men to submit to its authority; both admonish them of what they ought to do and avoid, together with the consequences of each, and, after this, leave them at full liberty to act just as they please till the appointed time of judgment*." To recognize thus the visibility and unity of the Church, without admitting the existence of that organization which is essential for the preservation of both, would be as idle as to maintain that the oak before us might have grown up, and spread its branches so far and wide, and weathered the storms which have so often made the shores and forest groan lamentingly, without having its roots, as we find them, imbedded in the soil, and the mathematical laws which determine the strength of its structure, observed in each branch that casts a shade around it. Arguing from analogy alone, it is clear that the Church also must have its root and foundation, and all its members, proportioned by a precise law; and accordingly all the holy fathers have but one voice to proclaim that it is built, as its Divine Author declares, upon that rock of Peter, from which the great pontiffs who give their name to the present road derive their pre-eminence, with whom all members of the mystic body must be united according to laws of most exact similitude; and blind and ungrateful indeed must be the man

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* Butler's Analogy, ii. 1.

who will deny the benefits which have flowed from them to the human race. The propagation of the Christian faith, and the conversion of the nations; the preservation of the unity of the Church; the maintenance, during long ages, of greater peace and order, freedom and justice, than could have been obtained by merely human institutions—"hoc illorum labori tribuendum quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis vidit nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est." "Who," exclaims the ancient poet, "would wish for more than one pilot in the tempest, or many commanders in a distracted state*?" The bark of Peter on the angry sea of the world, exposed to all the fury of the spiritual wickedness in high places, which at intervals rages like a tempest, has been provided, by the all-wise Providence who watches over her, with the form of government which human reason thus can perceive to be the best adapted for furnishing the needful security; and as often as we stand on the rocks at some harbour's mouth, and watch any poor vessel escaping from the vexed sea, guided through the foaming billows, while the gaze of all beholders follows it, with vows and tears, as alternately it rises to the crest, and disappears, all but the mast, beneath the dreadful surge, till at length, docile to the helm, it passes safely within the pier, when the passengers are seen prostrate and insensible; the calm pilot and his mariners still firm at their post, watchful to the last, after enduring that long agony, our memory may well recall the great pontiff, who like the thoughtful pilot of that ship which we have been watching, surrounded by a chosen few, intrepid and skilful as himself, conducts the bark in which all our hopes are consigned, steering it through the still more fearful waves of human mutability to the everlasting rest of heaven. "Per mare magnum," said Gregory IX., in a bull addressed to the minors, "et spatiosum inter innumera perversitatum reptilia navigantes, tot adversis ventorum flatibus hodie quatimur, tot fluctuum turbulentiæ elationibus deterremur, quod Jesum iis excitare compellimur et pulsare clamoribus, Domine, nisi festinaveris nos salvare, perimus†." Independently of its position in the political and social state, to which there is a gradual ascent, ascending to the general law which presides over all Catholic institutions, creating tributary and subordinate degrees, the holy see, in regard to that high justice and wisdom which obtains the reverence and admiration of the human race, stands like a mountain, in sublime solitude. It is not an earthly pageant, but a wondrous sight, that mocks all human grandeur. "The best history," says an old Spanish writer, "and that which

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* Soph. Androm.

† Ap. Franc. à Rivotorto Sacri Conventus Assisiensis, Hist. lib. ii. 17.

Christians ought to study most, is that of the sovereign bishops, successors of St. Peter*." This is, in fact, the theme,—

——"quæ maxima semper
Dicetur nobis, et erit quæ maxima semper †."

To ask for the visible moral centre of humanity, is to ask for the Holy See. Such is the noble problem of divine geography. Mysterious, from the beginning, seems to have been the destiny of that city, which, after being so long the seat of every principle most opposed to Christianity, was chosen by the eternal counsels to become, in subsequent ages, the see of Peter, and of men to whom all Christians were to make their offerings, saying, not with the impious Frederic, "Non tibi sed Petro," but, "Tibi et Petro." "As in the beginning, so at all stages of its history, Rome is without a parallel in the history of the world," as Niebuhr remarks. The history of all nations of the ancient world ends in that of Rome; and that of all modern nations has grown out of that of Rome. Mysterious even in its ancient secret as well as in its public name, it directs by the former to that love, and by the latter to that happiness, which it was to perpetuate on earth by the bond of unity; for the name of Rome, of Indian extraction, signified, in the language to which it originally belonged, joy in the abstract ‡. The ancients were struck with the singularities in the fortune of the eternal city. Plutarch says repeatedly, that the grandeur of the Romans was the work of fortune rather than of virtue; and that its power is to be ascribed to the favour of the divinity. "Rome," he says, "would never have come to such a high degree of power if it had not had a divine origin §." He sees the mysterious hand ever guarding and training it up to greatness. "Nothing," he says, "could have saved Rome, if Hannibal had marched against it after the battle of Cannæ. It is probable," he adds, "that his irresolution was caused by a god or a demon, who stopped him." Whatever may be thought, however, as to the cause and direction of these early events, the mysterious protection can hardly be concealed in the later stages of its history, when it began to acquire the true, spiritual, and supreme greatness of the papal city. "She has conquered," says an English author, "by submission; she has grown by suffering; she has filled the world by emptying herself of all that was worldly within her. In the height of her power, which might seem to argue a forgetfulness of herself,

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* Les Diverses Leçons de Pierre Messie de Seville, xix.
† Æn. viii. 271.
‡ Fred. Schlegel, on the Indian Language.
§ Life of Rom.

there was something unworldly, somewhat wonderful about her conduct. To grow to greatness by despising it; to keep kings true to her through fear and not through flattery, and yet be all the while the blessed advocate of the poor and destitute, the serf, the captive, and all the forlorn ones upon earth! the world had not seen the like before."

Between Rome, the mistress of error, when it could be compared to a forest full of wild, furious animals of prey, as when Peter and Paul first entered it; and Rome the disciple of truth, when the successors of the fisherman had subjected by Christian peace the whole world to their pastoral dominion, some years of imperfect development undoubtedly intervened. The religious bond indeed was confirmed from the first; and the Church "at the farthest limits of the earth,"—in Ireland, at the end of the sixth century,—formed no exception, as some have vainly attempted to maintain; for by the mouth of St. Columban she proclaimed herself there to be "the disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the apostolic doctrine as Rome had transmitted it to her." "We are bound," she said, "to the chair of St. Peter; and, though Rome is great and celebrated, it is solely on account of this chair that it appears to us celebrated and great [*]." "But in political respects the influence of Christianity," says a learned jurisconsult, "was still limited, because the popedom had not attained to that vigorous direction which it exercised under St. Gregory VII. and Innocent III., with such advantage to the cause of morals and humanity [†]." Rome, however, by the force of circumstances which are ever ruled by Almighty Providence, rose to a spiritual sovereignty which made the world grow in a certain sense celestial. The barbarians rushed towards her, and she saw them fall prostrate at her feet; the emperors retired to leave it without a rival on the chosen soil; the heretics rose against her, and she extended her dominion over a new hemisphere; the sophists leagued against her, and she saw their legions scattered. Such are the contests she has hitherto withstood,—

> "Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem [‡]."

Is now this mysterious destiny to verify the prediction of the poet's deity?—

> "His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
> Imperium sine fine dedi [§]."

Many at present seem disposed to question it. Faith only re-

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[*] Ozanam, Etudes Germaniques, tom. ii.

[†] Troplong de l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil des Romains, 112.

[‡] Æn. i.

[§] Æn. i. 278.

peats, that where the pope is Rome is. Peter the Venerable addressed these words to Innocent II.: "Nihil nos a pastore, nihil a Petro, nihil a Christo, quæ omnia in te uno habemus, separare poterit. Sit ubicumque occurrerit habitatio vestra; manebit ubique vobiscum obedientia et devotio nostra; quoniam et secundum poetam,—

——— "'Veios habitante Camillo,
Illic Roma fuit [*].'"

Some now would reconstitute the Gentile world, and, recalling the darkness which it once so heroically fled from, substitute for the pope Brutus, and not even the noble Brutus but the assassin. It is no new madness. The old poisonous root sent forth shoots even in the middle ages; and St. Bernard, in his work, De Consideratione, speaks of the Romans then in terms almost strong enough to express the turpitude ascribed to them, let us hope falsely, at this day. Meanwhile Catholics only repeat the words of Cicero, and say, "It is good that the Roman people should learn, quantum cuique crederet; quibus se committeret; a quibus caveret [†]." Those who invoke the confusion of false liberty now presume upon success. Well, we who are mortal and know not the morrow,—

οἱ θνατοὶ πελόμεθα, τὸ δ' αὔριον οὐκ ἐσορῶμες [‡],—

may deem sufficient the answer of our own poet,—

"Time is the old justice, that examines
All such offenders; and let time try."

The action of the popedom furnishes a solemn signal upon this road, pointing to the divine truth of Catholicity as containing in the Holy See the centre of religious unity for Christians; the centre of political order, and justice, and peace for nations; the centre of all wise and just discipline of life for the human race. It is a long, darksome, and perilous journey which men have to make through the forest of this mortal life; and often contradicting voices urge the unguided traveller to his ruin. The spiritual course is full of intersecting paths. Which of them ought he to follow in order to arrive at his country? "We had not gone far," says a recent wanderer through Spain, "before we met two Galicians. One of them shouted, 'Cavalier, turn back! in a moment you will be amongst precipices where your horses will break their necks, for we ourselves could scarcely climb them on foot.' The other cried, 'Cavalier, proceed, but be

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[*] Epist. i. Bibl. PP. xxii.

[†] Phil. ii.

[‡] Theocrit.

careful, and you will run no great danger; my comrade is a fool.'" Such are the shouts that assail men on the mystic ground we tread now. The Catholic alone knows what echo he can trust. For him there is a guide that has never failed, never betrayed any one. To the great Pilot of the Church he says, in the Dantean words,—

> "Speak and instruct, if rightly to the pass I tend *."

Or, with an earlier bard,—

> "Quem sequimur? quòve ire jubes? ubi ponere sedes?
> Da, pater, augurium, atque animis illabere nostris †."

He has not to wait long for his answer; it is this,—

> ——— "Antiquam exquirite matrem ‡."

"God, who showeth the light of his truth to those who err, that they may return into the way of justice §," speaks by his unerring vicar,—

> "Cumque iter ambiguum est, et vitæ nescius error,
> Diducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes ‖."

But hearken to the voices which exclaim on all sides,—

> "Quis deducet me in civitatem munitam?"

"Strong, secure, pacific, tranquil? Such," adds St. Thomas of Villanova, "are the words of the citizens of Jerusalem, breathing after their celestial country ¶." The Holy See offers what you seek, and adds, in the words that sound so wondrously prophetic on the page of the old poet, when he ascribes them to his divinity,—

> ——— "Morem ritusque sacrorum
> Adjiciam, faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos."

Hence the race whose piety will be superhuman and divine, and whose honour everlasting **. "We think with satisfaction," says a recent author, speaking of secular governments, "what distant climes and severed isles have been intrusted to us, which we use as mines to dig out incense for the God of this world's mammon." Not so Rome; not so the pontiff who succeeds to St. Peter, who proves himself the father of all nations, to lead them to the region of the true imperishable riches. Oh! what tenderness in

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* Purg. 16.
† Æn. iii. 88.
‡ Id. iii. 96.
§ Collect for Third Sunday after Easter.
‖ Persius, v.
¶ De Div. Michaele, i.
** Æn. xii. 836.

the holy Father of every Christian people! St. Pius V., on his death-bed receiving some English exiles flying from Elizabeth, after they had left him, said, "My God, thou knowest that I have been always ready to shed my blood for the salvation of that country *." Gregory XIII., on sending Father Possevin to Sweden with a view to the restoration of Catholicity in that country, began his discourse to him in these words: "My brother, the affairs of the king of Sweden are of such importance, that if I was not oppressed under the weight of the whole Christian Church, I would go in person to Sweden to render good for evil to those Goths who formerly sacked this city of Rome †." "The extermination of her race," says Pope Gregory IX., "is for the pious mother of the son of the right hand, the holy Roman Church, as great a subject of contrition as the loss of offspring for a natural mother."

The city again of the supreme vicar is the capital of all nations. "How," exclaims Sidonius Apollinaris, writing to Eutropius, "should you feel a stranger in Rome, in which sole city of the whole world alone barbarians and slaves are foreigners?" Hither came the wisest of all nations, exclaiming, "Hic amor, hæc patria est." Ulysses, gaining the island of the Phæacians, kissed the ground,—

——— κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν ‡.

and innumerable wanderers adopt even the same form of expression on arriving at these time-worn gates to proclaim, that on the rock of the apostle they have been saved from the whirlwinds and treacherous sands of the desert! Now here is a great signal. For ought not this very concentration of intellectual and moral worth from all nations, meeting, as on a native soil, round the chair of Peter, to awaken useful consideration in those who can observe nothing else? "Think not," says Celius Calcagnini, the contemporary of Raphael, "that you can find out of Rome the same rich harvest of talents and study. In Rome there are many personages whose intimacy so charms me, that I can neither expect nor hope for greater happiness in life §." Pontiffs and priests, and devout laymen from every nation and language under heaven, bringing the homage of their fidelity to the Supreme Ruler, cannot be heard uttering their reverence for his vicegerent without directing many to the truth of that religion which produces such supernatural union. "The unity of more than two thousand bishops, spread over the hundred and thirty-six ecclesiastical provinces of the Christian world, offered," says

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* De Falloux, Hist. de St. P. V.

† Theiner, la Suède et le S. Siége, ii. 150.

‡ v. 463.

§ Valery, Curiosités et Anecdotes Ital.

Dom Pitra, in the seventh century; "amidst the invasion of the barbarians, a spectacle which could only be compared to the angelic hierarchy [*]." Through all succeeding ages it is still the same phenomenon ; and what is it but a miracle, transforming nature, to see an Englishman or an American kneeling to Christ, when represented by an Italian or a Frenchman? "I would rather renounce the episcopacy," says Ives de Chartres to Pope Urban, "than justly or unjustly incur your anger. If you required more, I should be ready to offer more. If I cease to be your servant, I will never cease to be your son ; and, for my own part, I should prefer following naked Christ carrying the cross—ut in illo uberrimo et amplissimo prædio contendam, in quo amor paupertatis copiosos, amor divitiarum facit ærumnosos [†]." And again he uses these glorious words, which might shame some degenerate spirits in every age, saying, "Sic volumus amicis prodesse ut autoritati et honestati sedis apostolicæ in nullo velimus obesse [‡]." "Behold," cries an English traveller, "all hearts are turned towards the Holy See, all eyes fixed upon it in love, hope, fear, and inquiry. Long has the mysterious character of Rome been seen, in that men could not feel indifference towards her as towards a common city ; but either fond love or bitter hatred has been her portion from every one who cared for the cross at all." Even in these deplorable times, men can be directed to truth by observing how dearly the hearts of millions love the Roman pontiff and the Roman Church, loving them in their constancy, in their sufferings, in their evil report as in their good report, in their decrees, in their ceremonies, in their practices, in their ritual, in their solicitude for all the churches, in their calm wisdom, and finding cause for love in all their characteristics, however latent, as in their invariable exemption from that legislative mania which elsewhere now pervades the world : for, as a French author observes, the rage to Gallicanize, to doctorize, to dogmatize, to stigmatize, and to anathematize, has gained the counsels of every nation, even when the objects are to be the pope, the bishops, the priests, and the whole body of the faithful people. "It is hard to sum up the perils of the Catholic clergy," says the author of Timon, "their contests, their numerous and indefatigable adversaries. Have they ever in any age better deserved the glorious title of the Church militant than now? No, never." But it is indeed a spectacle for men and angels to behold now, while nations have collectively come back to the Pagan maxim, "Auspiciis patriis, non alienigenis rempublicam administrari oportere [§]," and consequently to set no value upon the influence of that Holy See,

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[*] Hist. de St. Léger.

[†] Epist. 67.

[‡] Epist. 92.

[§] Val. Max. lib. i.

which is directed to preserve the unity of nations in the Church; how well the little flock evince their love and docility, all priests pressing closer and closer round their bishop in filial love, while all bishops in their turn seem now, more than ever, to press theologically in communion of mind and heart round their apostolic Head, making with him, spiritually, only one firm, solid, and united body.

But the action of the popedom supplies a signal also, as proving that Catholicism, in her seat of supreme authority, constitutes the centre of political wisdom, justice, order, and peace for nations. Rome furnishes, in the first place, the type and realization of a wise pacific government, where the monarch rules by the force of truth and justice.

——"Hic regnum sine vi, sine cæde regebat [*]."

In great armies, in parks of artillery, in decrees which render every man a soldier, in representative assemblies, in levying taxes, in all the pomp and circumstance of human power, the pope is only a poor monarch; but as one of the old Romans, could he come back to the world, would say, "in these arts he is every inch a king—in equity, industry, temperance, in defence of the miserable, and in hatred of the wicked [†]. His proclamations do not say, "provide your equipment," that is, get ready for the war, but, "go wherever you wish,"

Βαῖν' ὅποι θέλεις [‡].

If he must fight, it will be with "hallowed arms, with creeds and hymns, and life of prayer, against the rulers of the ghostly night." The wisdom and distinctive character of the pontifical bulls, of which the minute marks, as described by learned authors [§], require attention, as determining their authenticity, may be said to constitute a separate avenue, that alone might lead all dispassionate students to a recognition of the truth of the Catholic religion. "The popes in the middle ages," as a French author remarks, "did not combat with territorial forces; they were not at the summit of the feudal and military authority; their chief lands and temporal power were derived from the Carlovingians; and yet they proved themselves stronger than the empire, for the force of the empire was obliged to yield to the belief of the world, and to the moral power of the Catholic religion." When the impious emperor, Frederic II., wrote to Gregory IX., saying, in the style of many now in London,—

"Roma diu titubans, longis erroribus acta,
Corruet, et mundi desinet esse caput."

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[*] Met. xi. 9. [†] In Ver. ii. iv. [‡] Achar. 199.

[§] Carpentier, Bulla Stat. Syn. Eccl. Castrensis, 1358.

The pope calmly replied,—

> "Niteris incassum navem subvertere Petri
> Fluctuat, at nunquam desinet ista ratis[*]."

Rome supplied the type and realization of a monarch governing by love, and of a people, at least during long intervals, satisfied and grateful. When the senate proposed to raise a statue to Pius V. in the Capitol, he forbade it, saying, "that if any good were effected in his reign, he preferred its being engraven in the hearts of his people rather than on bronze[†]." Visit Rome during happy days, when Catholicity is all in all; there, at least in the hearts of many, you will see the vision of peace: oculi tui videbunt Hierusalem—Sion, the city of our solemnity, the opulent habitation; the tabernacle which can never be transferred, nor its cords be removed for ever; and where alone our Lord is magnified. Those few whom modern travellers love to search for, and whom, perhaps, some diplomatic envoys are commissioned to flatter, you will not see—populum imprudentem non videbis, populum alti sermonis, ita ut non possis intelligere disertitudinem linguæ ejus, in quo nulla est sapientia[‡]—but those whose faith is still worthy of being spoken of throughout the world, will be presented to your eyes every where, to dwell in your memory for ever. "Though the worship of God in Rome," says Theodorus Amydenus, "be continued in all times, yet the devotion in the years of jubilee will hardly find belief. I myself," he adds, "lately saw in this year, 1625, more than once, above 40,000 persons upon one day, devoutly going from church to church in great fervour of spirit, and in comely order; not one discomposed, not one but what appeared with that modesty which becomes a Christian. Every one, having God present in his mind, and his eyes fixed upon the ground he walks upon, either recites his rosary, or directs either mental or vocal prayers with great affection to Almighty God. All this great multitude consisted of the people of Rome; for in the beginning of the year strangers were not yet come thither, they, as it were, endeavouring to give good example, and to be leaders to all others in the paths of piety[§]." But the popedom not alone supplies a model in one locality of wise pacific government, its action extends over the world; and until the decline of faith, and the false reformation, it tended to infuse lofty views of justice, a wise direction of affairs, and solicitude for peace and order into the governments and the governed of all nations,

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[*] Baron. Annal. Ord. SS. Trin. 159.

[†] De Falloux, Hist. de S. P. V. ii. 186.

[‡] Is. 33.

[§] Pietas Romana, 100.

and to protect both the temporal and spiritual interests of kings and people. Innocent III. expressed this obligation of the Primal See in his letter to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, when he confirmed the sentence of his predecessors against him. "Do not," he says, "permit yourself to be afflicted, dear brother, in consequence of our conscience having obliged us to act thus: we have not done so through any aversion to you, but from being raised to the seat of justice, and from being bound by our duty to protect, safe and sound, and guarantee to every one his rights. The more we love you sincerely, the more we regard you amongst our brethren and fellow bishops as an honourable member, as an immoveable pillar of the house of God, the less was it in our power to act otherwise, without committing a great crime against the Creator*." In another letter he describes his responsibility as the protector of the innocent, and says, "Our firm resolution, in which nothing shall ever make us falter, is to love sincerely and faithfully all those who are devoted to the Church, and to protect them with the shield of the Holy See against all the insolence of oppressors†." Those who are reported, with more or less of truth, to have least corresponded with the sublime office of the Holy See, are yet commended by its enemies for having defended the oppressed. Alexander VI., as Humboldt remarks in his life of Columbus, sent letters full of equity and wisdom to Isabella, to denounce the slavery imposed upon the Americans, and to proclaim the disgrace which would thereby fall upon the Christian name. It was the office of the Holy See, as Pope John XXII. observed in his bull to the order of Grandmont, to provide that all ancient strifes should be appeased, and all occasions for future contentions obviated. "It is the duty of our supreme dignity," said Pope Innocent III., "to make peace; we are the vicar of Him who said, 'My peace I leave you.'" For the cause of justice and peace, the popedom was invoked by all nations in common, until the sixteenth century: and no power was too secure of its own sufficiency to set its counsels at defiance. Its great judgment, when censuring the unjust, seemed to long ages like Heaven's dreadful thunder.—the stones heard the voice, and the trees of the wood trembled. What have the nations of the world gained by emancipating themselves from such thraldom, by protesting against this high court of appeal, and by preferring the wars of kings and of nations to the arbitration and the censure of a common father? It is not an answer from the dinner-table of a Cisalpine club in London, having no motive but that certain narrow patriotism, and that characteristic abhorrence of the papal power, "which," as Frederick Schlegel says, "distinguished even the

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* Hurter, Geschichte Inn. III. i. 202.

† Epist. Inn.

early English," that will satisfy the conscience of mankind at the present day, when such questions are proposed; nor is it the acknowledgment, by men professing to love peace, that an arbiter is now hard, or impossible to find, that will shut out from men the advantages of Catholicity. But let us observe the popedom more minutely in its relation to the temporal government.

"The vicar of Jesus Christ," said St. Catherine of Sienna to Pope Urban VI., who had called her to Rome in order to consult with her during the time of the schism, "ought neither to fear nor to doubt, though the whole world should conspire against him: for Jesus Christ is almighty; He is stronger than the world, and will never abandon his Church." It is this conviction which imparts, in every age, that same supernatural dignity to the language of the Holy See, which must strike all observers. "In the letters of Innocent III.," says Hurter, "we find no where the expression of that passionate joy which follows the accomplishment of long-cherished hopes and personal desires; but we observe that constant calm of one who, in all events, adores the finger of God, directing all towards a great and salutary end; we observe that disinterestedness which neglects, as accidental, all increase of temporal grandeur; the will of God is what determines him in every thing. The honour of the Lord, the dignity of the Church, and the salvation of souls, are the only objects of the pope, the only motive of his actions." The voice of Peter to the Emperor Frederick II., was expressive of the immoveable courage, and calm resignation of the Holy See, at all times. "I have done what I ought to have done," said the pope to that most wicked enemy of Christians; "for the rest, let God accomplish whatever is conformable to his holy will*." But let us briefly observe the vicars of Jesus Christ engaged in advising, encouraging, correcting, and endeavouring, by spiritual powers, to lead to penitence, when guilty, the rulers of the world. Liberty of the subject, mild government, and economy in regard to the public revenue, maintenance of justice and peace, duty of respecting and honouring the king, responsibility of kings,—such were the objects of the Holy See in its interference with the temporal power; and it is not clear that the same purposes have been attained to the same extent, under circumstances of as great difficulty, by means of the orators or political families, who, after the chief obstacle had been removed, have offered themselves and their parliamentary opposition as substitutes for its influence.

"There is an herb," says Pliny, "found upon Mount Atlas: they who gather it see clearer†." Within the domains of the Church it may be said that there is also a mountain on which

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1245.

† Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. 38.

something analogous may be found; for no individual and no state has ever interrogated the Holy See without becoming sharper-sighted in consequence to detect the snares which may be rendering the moment critical and full of danger; and how can statesmen and philosophers sufficiently estimate the value of such a benefit? for history and daily experience supply proof that both states and men, however great may be their power and influence, have occasionally need of that which will enable them to see clearer, and that to both, when the cure is left to nature, the Church might often address the words of the fabled representative of Prudence to Ajax, and say, You have power without mind—

—— "Tu vires sine mente geris *."

Sometimes the secular ruler, like the present Grand Duke of Tuscany, who will leave, by his recent act of docility to the Holy See, an immortal memory, has the wisdom to approach the Vicar of Christ on consultation, saying,

—— "Quæ prima pericula vito?
Quidve sequens tantos possum superare labores †?"

And then, as recent and all old experience proves, not in vain will be heard that great voice which distinguishes the way of safety.

Without entering upon a view of the immense political results of the ecclesiastical wisdom, aided by power, in the middle ages, which were so great that even historians most opposed to it have left concessions that render it unnecessary to point out the signals they supply, let us mark some of these words, which might have given clearer sight to kings, emanating from the Holy See at different intervals, which may enable us in some measure to judge of the general tenor of its action in respect to the temporal power. "Dear son," said Pope Innocent III. to Otho IV., "show yourself good and gentle to all men, giving to every one honour and kindness. Avoid harsh words and offensive acts. Be not hard to grant, nor sparing to promise; and, above all, keep your word." "Those," says Hurter, "who accuse the Holy See of cupidity in its relation with states, and of unjust acquisitions, ought to engrave well on their memory the words of Pope Innocent III., when he refused to permit the Church to accept for herself the castles which were in the domains of Raymond de Toulouse, saying, "Non decet Ecclesiam cum aliena jactura ditari ‡." But what allocution of the popes does not bear witness to the noble and disinterested policy which Catholicism proposes to the example of all rulers? "The

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* Met. xiii. 10. † iii. 367. ‡ xv.

desires of man," says the same Pope Innocent, addressing the fathers of the council of Lateran, "are numerous and various. Who could enumerate them all? Yet one may confine them to two kinds—to carnal and to spiritual desires; to those which have temporal, and to those which have celestial and eternal objects. Of the latter the prophet says, 'My soul desires at all times to behold justice;' and the betrothed bride in the Canticle says, 'I was seated in the shadow of what I desire with ardour; and its fruit was sweet to my mouth. Of the former the Apostle says, Fly from carnal desires which fight against the soul;' and elsewhere, 'Put far from me all bad desires.' As for me, I call to witness Him who is a faithful witness in heaven, that I have desired not with a desire of the flesh, but with a desire of the spirit, to eat this paschal supper with you, not for an earthly satisfaction or for a temporal glory, but for the amelioration of the universal Church and for the deliverance of the Holy Land." When a Venetian ambassador asked permission for the state to pull down an ancient church, in order to enlarge the Basilica of St. Mark, Pope Innocent replied, "The Church of the Holy See can never consent that the least evil should be committed; but, if the evil has been done, it knows how to pardon." Time, in general, demonstrates the wisdom of its counsels.

Pope Gregory says, in answer to the letter of Frederic II., "Certainly we gave him a counsel founded on prudence, as the events of this day prove; and he would have better accomplished his designs with respect to the Lombards, if he had shown himself a pious father and a clement lord towards men so powerful, rather than showing himself with a terrible air, surrounded by warriors and the sword of vengeance drawn out of the scabbard*." "We confess," says Gregory to Frederic II., "that by the imperfection of our merits we are the unworthy vicar of Christ; we confess that we are insufficient for a burden that human weakness cannot bear without divine assistance. Nevertheless, we discharge the office confided to us as well as our fragility permits. We regulate what is to be regulated as required by the quality and nature of places, times, persons, and things; and with the advice of eminent persons we grant dispensations, when necessary, purely according to God."

When rulers were obstinately deaf to wise counsels, the solemn warnings of the Holy See, addressed to them, constituted at least an impressive signal to the rest of men. Innocent XI. concludes his letter of December, 1679, to Louis XIV., with these words, "Causam Dei agimus, quærentes non quæ nostra sunt, sed quæ Jesu Christi. Cum eo propterea, non no-

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1239.

biscum, tibi negotium erit in posterum; cum eo scilicet adversus quem non est sapientia, non est consilium, non est potentia."

The popedom, naturally the protector of all legitimate authority, has never censured kings without such grave and unavoidable motives, that it might have addressed those whom it struck in the words with which a poet threatened the emperor who persecuted him:—

"Nostra per immensas ibunt præconia gentes,
Quodque querar, notum, qua patet orbis erit,
Nec tua te sontem tantummodo secula norint,
Perpetuæ crimen posteritatis eris *."

The popedom never employed its spiritual arms without furnishing fresh proof of the charity and humility which inspired it. Innocent III., remonstrating with the ungrateful Otho, said, "If we address the imperial majesty in words more than usually severe, we do not speak thus through pride, but because it is written, In time of distress raise your voice as a trumpet †." The popedom has never exercised the power it receives from Christ without giving cause to the whole world for observing "how the sentence dread of excommunication can bereave the opposer's mind of truest light within;" though

——— "Satan's self,
If he become their light, with fearful wiles
May raise a mockery of the sun himself
Before the darken'd mind, as one that sees
An image false of the material sun,
And with distracted vision deems its light
Is real and lasting."

For many ages the laws and the consent of nations co-operated with the Holy See in attaching temporal disqualifications to the ecclesiastical censures; but at length the multitude of opposers, and the disorganization of the ancient bonds which cemented the great edifice of European civilization, gave rise to such a change of circumstances, that nothing was less feared by men anxious only for their present fortunes, and blind even when seeking them, than what was supposed to constitute the purely spiritual consequence of offending God; so, as one of her greatest enemies observed of the Church, "He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his soul, and not smell within him the brimstone of hell, may have fair leave to tell all his bags over undiminished of the least farthing, may eat his dainties, drink his wine, use his delights, enjoy his lands and liberties, not the least skin raised,

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* Ovid. Trist. iv. 9.

† Hurter, xv.

not the least hair misplaced, for all that excommunication has done: much more may a king enjoy his rights and prerogatives undeflowered, untouched, and be as absolute and complete a king as all his royalties and revenues can make him." But the thoughtful observer of men and of nations may not the less be directed to recognise the divine power of the Catholic Church by witnessing the moral consequences of her restraints being withdrawn, and her awful authority defied. In fine, the actions of the Holy See supplies a great signal, by showing that Catholicism, in its divine provision for the government of the whole Church collectively, never loses sight of the spiritual and moral interests of each of the faithful, to whom the chair of Peter constitutes, with a view to individual wants, the centre of all wise and holy discipline of life. The Roman pontiff uses no crozier, for the reason, as Pope Innocent III. observes, "that Peter sent his staff to Eucharius, bishop of Treves*." Yet the sheep of his vast flock know his voice, and for every one of them he holds himself, in a certain sense, responsible. Pope Innocent III. used always to declare his conviction, "that in the day of judgment an account would be required from him for the souls of all men on whom he had ever had an opportunity of acting †." In point of fact, to whom does not the voice of the Holy See extend in some degree or other? who is ignorant of its encouragements, and denunciations, of its praise and of its censures, of its instructions and of its example? Pausanias speaks of a stone which was called sophronister, that is, which can calm and render wise. Such was the stone, *πέτρον*, with which Pallas smote the breast of raging Hercules, which arrested his furious arm and threw him into a profound sleep. Such is the stone or rock against which the wicked thoughts of the human heart are dashed, in compliance with the Davidic precept, by those who turn to the Holy See for guidance. How many philosophic errors, arising from servile docility to some great deceiving genius; how many insane suggestions of the common enemy, renouncing all respect to ancient wisdom; how many cruel and unjust measures, divorces, neglect, disinheriting of sons, oppressions of the people, injuring of neighbours, outrage of the weak and aged, have been renounced like evil children, in consequence of hearing the Holy See? Who could count all the devout souls that have been strengthened, encouraged, granted an hundred-fold for the sacrifices of a long life, by hearing in the Vatican a few soft holy words from the lips of Christ's vicar—by witnessing a smile, a chaplet blessed, a finger pointed upwards with such words as Dante heard,—

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* De Sacro Alt. Myst. i. c. 61.

† Epist. Inn. III. xv. 106.

"A little while thou shalt be forester here;
And citizen shalt be, for ever with me,
Of that true Rome wherein Christ dwells [*]:"

for

"Such is the flow of that pure rill, that wells
From forth the fountain of all truth [†]."

What the clergy and people of Rome heard in the sermons, the clergy and people of all Christendom might have read in the epistles of Pope Innocent III.; and what was that, do you ask? It was, as Hurter observes, a continual exhortation to gravity and to the moral dignity of life, warnings to avoid all contradiction between doctrine and manners, laziness, pride, intemperance, cupidity, and avarice. "How many," he cried, in one of his sermons, "have incurred damnation by the latter! Take for your example," he said to the clergy, "St. Laurence. He preserved in his church treasures which tempted princes; but he did not keep them for himself; he did not give them to his relations; he distributed them to the poor. Meditate well on this example, O ye who employ the goods of Jesus Christ for your own luxury, or for the enrichment of your relations; who neglect your poor, and take no heed of the indigent [‡]."

The moral consequences of personal interviews with the sovereign pontiff spreading far and wide, by the impression produced on those who enjoyed them, and who afterwards returned to some distant country, and published their report to others, present, no doubt, a signal which will not escape the attention of observing men, though the details respecting what passed may seem trivial, as when the abbot of Andres, in the diocese of Térouenne, which is now that of Boulogne, describes his presentation to Pope Innocent III. "When the pope had slept the meridian," he says, "and had a moment of leisure, I was introduced to him. I found him alone. I bent my knee; but he told me to approach to receive the kiss of peace, which encouraged me. He made me to sit at his feet and expose my business. 'We shall examine your petition,' he said, 'in due time, and we shall willingly do for you and your convent whatever is in our power, with the aid of God.' He then spoke to me of my convent, said how he had been received there to hospitality, when a student of Paris, as he was going on pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury. 'The abbot was at that time,' he said, 'a respectable old man, and it appeared to me that the whole convent was in good order.' Then, addressing directions to an usher, he gave me his benediction, and I withdrew."

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[*] Purg. 32.
[†] Par. 4.
[‡] Serm. in Fest. Laurentii Hurter, xx.

These were the occasions of publishing throughout the world the familiar counsels, the impressive looks, the significative gestures, addressed to men of all conditions, which were destined by Divine Providence to confirm the lowest as well as the highest of the brethren, and to preserve the whole Church in fidelity to its head. From these conversations men departed with a conviction, rendered more personal by actual observation, that the Holy Spirit animated the pontiff, and that, as Philip II. said of St. Pius V., " he was a man who did all things with a view to God." Hence in his presence were often made solid conversions, which in their turn led to others, and so on, multiplying great examples, through all nations, of that detachment from the world, of that hidden life commemorated on holy Saturday, which proved that the small grain was indeed prolific, and that the harvest was great for heaven. Ratchisius, king of the Longobards, was thus converted ; for when, for the sake of amplifying his kingdom, he besieged Perugia, being called by Pope Zacharia, he was so moved by the Christian admonitions of the holy pontiff, that he not only raised the siege, but, reputing thenceforth the joys of eternal life alone available, he resolved on abdicating his crown, and embracing a religious life ; which vow he fulfilled, becoming a monk at Mount Cassino, under the abbot Petronax *. Memorable examples are not wanting to show that what is heard within the Vatican, from a pope's lips, is still " vox Domini confringentis cedros—cedros Libani ;" and, if the immediate results are not always a conversion of the heart externally manifested, we should remember that, as the poet says,

—— " Scilicet ultima semper
Exspectanda dies homini."

" Having been on his passage to and from the Vatican," said the correspondent of the Journal des Débats, describing the Emperor of Russia's late visit to Gregory XVI., " I was struck with the change of his countenance on his return after his interview with the pope." The pontiff is dead ; the witnesses are dead. What passed at that solemn meeting is known to no one now living but to the emperor himself. Was it seeing the attested document preserved in the pontifical archives, proving the conversion of his wise predecessor to the Catholic faith, which caused this commotion in his breast ? Probably not ; though that signature, if shown, might perhaps have filled him with amaze. We only know that, returning thus troubled to his states, there seemed to be a change in the spirit of his ad-

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* D. Gattula, Hist. Cassinens. iii. 22.

ministration, and that his public ácts, in regard to the Catholic Church, became more agreeable to the principles of a just government.

Such, then, is the great signal directing men throughout the world to the truth of the Catholic Church, by showing the religious, moral, and political consequences of obedience to the voice of God speaking through his vicar,—

> " Ecce audivimus eam in Ephrata;
> Invenimus eam in campis silvæ *."

If any still doubt whether the light before us on this road be that indeed which emanates from the tabernacle of God with men, and the pure celestial dawn which reveals our true country, saying, with the distrust of Ulysses, addressing himself to Minerva,—

> *Εἰπέ μοι, εἰ ἐτεόν γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἱκάνω* †,

he may receive the reply given to that wanderer when he first asked the name of the region in which he found himself,—

> *Νήπιος εἶς, ὦ ξεῖν', ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας.*
> *Εἰ δὴ τήνδε τε γαῖαν ἀνείρεαι· οὐδέ τι λίην*
> *Οὕτω νώνυμός ἐστιν· ἴσασι δέ μιν μάλα πολλοὶ*
> *Ἠμὲν ὅσοι ναίουσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ', ἠέλιόν τε,*
> *Ἠδ' ὅσσοι μετόπισθε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα* ‡.

Proceeding by this line to the centre, where is the beauteous majesty of the Church, it is true we have only followed a very ancient path; but, when it is the generations of Christian ages that have passed along it, the worn track is still the best, and cogitation resides not in that man who does not think it. Some, indeed, will turn back in despite of this great signal, and pursue some phantasmal lure in a contrary direction, saying,—

> " Hanc quoque deserimus sedem §."

The force of habit that makes wandering astray almost a necessity of blood, passion, ambition, and deceitful choice, will drive them into the wildest cross-roads, like Rinaldo, so far as madness can create affinity, plunging into the forest with no other companion than his horse Bayardo, seeking the most precipitous paths he could find, in the hope of some strange adventure. Well, then, let us still watch them on their eccentric course, and continue to observe how every line, though tortuous, sooner or

* Ps. Memento David.
† xiii. 328.
‡ xiii. 237.
§ iii. 190.

later of necessity inclines to this point in the circle. Travellers through the forests of Mortaigne, who set out to visit the celebrated monastery of the Trap, have frequently been known to find themselves, at the close of the day, in the very spot from which they departed in the morning, the house deriving its name from the circumstance of its position, which causes so many who pass near it to be entrapped thus amidst the leafy labyrinth. In the forest of life men are also caught by the involutions of the ways, though in a different manner. The difficulty here is to avoid the trap which is placed for them by the divine appointment. They would rather find themselves far from the centre, in some sequestered lair, separated, cut off from all communication except with what is lawless, where error, like a wild and cruel animal, sits brooding over its prey, than in the sanctuary of peace, with men of good-will, where truth is glorified. They fly from the latter—they set out in search of the former; but the journey ends like that of the pilgrim to La Trappe; for they are led back, by certain mysterious tracks, to the point from which they started, beholding still, perhaps nearer than ever, what they shunned; finding themselves once more upon the way of safety, and, however they may fear it, from the false report that leads them, again face to face with truth.

> " Right so it fares with me in this long way,
> Whose course is often stay'd, yet never is astray."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROAD OF PAGANS.

FORESTS, through whose vast seclusions St. Germain used to hear, when passing, the voices of lamenting Pagans crying out, " Leave to the miserable at least the solitude of woods, and permission to wander securely through the desert*," contain now but few traces of the scenery which once agreed with the title of the next road that presents itself, rather unexpectedly perhaps, at this pass. In the forest of Fontainebleau, we find, indeed, still the Druid's cave, the Druid's oak; and elsewhere some old Roman causeways here and there can be discovered, or some cromlech, though in the form of a Latin cross, the Druids having

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* Vit. S. Germ.

employed that sacred symbol before the faith of Christ was known to them. The trees, moreover, themselves, and the sprigs, with their woven tops, that seemed tied with a hundred knots, can be viewed as relics of a world that once, with the Druids, employed the arborary character, the key to which mystery is lost, though that tree system of language had become, in ancient times, so general, that the letters of the Celtic alphabet were all named after some tree. The branches, therefore, and the twigs, forming thus the basis of a language, can recall those secret usages of the Pagans, when the art of tying these sprigs, and of forming those knots with them of which traces still exist in certain sculptured monuments, was a study of the Druidical order; but if we except these, and a few rare instances of ancient tombs, and inscriptions upon broken fragments of columns and architraves, the vestiges of a Pagan world must be sought for in objects that now proclaim not alone its overthrow, but also the condemnation of its memory, like that column of the Temple of Peace, near St. Mary Major, on which we read these words:—"Formerly I sustained, with regret, by command of Cæsar, the impure temple of a false divinity; now that I bear with joy the mother of the true God, I will proclaim, O Paul, thy name to all generations." The oratory and lonely Church on the site of some Pagan temple that our road passes by, may, in this sense, furnish an appropriate object to those who would trace an analogy between the title of the path, and the pale death-like scenery through which it leads; though some men, blindly devoted to a love of classical antiquity, will participate on these occasions in the feelings which a poet ascribed to the Pagans themselves, when beholding, from the shades, the monuments they left on earth, consecrated to the true religion:—

> "Tristius infernis Nero nil audivit in umbris
> Sacrari Petro quam monumenta sua *."

But how come we to find ourselves upon this road, when we thought that we had left, far behind, the road of the school, and that the whole region here belonged to a different class of associations? True, there are some roads of practical life which we have not followed. There is the road of Hippocrates, or of physicians, which might have been taken, and we have overlooked others; but we must place limits to our enterprise, and leave this district of the forest, though not without having previously remarked the openings to truth, presented to nearly all men in the higher walks of practical life by means of certain

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* Pompei Ugonii Poëmata, 1587.

general studies, which are common to them all; and therefore we shall do well to observe the guidance that is supplied by Pagan learning and by history to men of mature age, however busily occupied in the world; for men of merit, in every pursuit, are generally convinced, as D'Aguesseau observes, that they ought to count for nothing the labours of adolescence, which only consist, after all, to use the expression of the Count de Maistre, in learning how to learn, and to commence serious true studies at the time when those toils finish; to regard manhood, not as an age intended for pleasure, or the sole business of any one profession, but as a season which virtue consecrates to labour of all kinds; to neglect the care of their goods and fortune, and to make a sacrifice of all that men cherish most to the love of wisdom and the desire of instruction; to become invisible for a time—a voluntary captive, and to bury themselves in a profound retreat. Lo, here is what explains the finding ourselves on this road, amidst the scenes through which the paths of practical life are thought exclusively to lead. Besides, it might be sufficient answer to remind those thus perplexed, that in the forest of life are many strange and sudden transitions, where the trees and valleys seem to have prepared surprise and variety for man; but, in strict truth, the ways of practical life frequently pass near what has been called the asylum of antiquity, or at least by spots which are congenial to those who love all ancient learning; and, though at first it may seem a strained association to class learned with practical men, it is not less true that many of the latter, including merchants, lawyers, physicians, soldiers, kings, and priests, come at some period of their lives, to converse, as it were, face to face with the Pagans of old; and therefore, as distinguished from the elementary studies of childhood, which we considered on a previous road, and from the higher and more sequestered intellectual paths, necessarily full of retrospects, which we must explore hereafter, the road of Pagans, and that of historians, which will be found next, may be chosen on our journey through the tracts of practical life, as being both alike presented to men, who are at times invited, even by their ordinary occupations, to turn from action to laborious studies connected with the past history of mankind.

This forest of life, in the morning, noon, and evening of the world—if such be, as is probable, its present hour—has been involved in very different degrees of obscurity; but at all times its innumerable ways led to the same centre, if those who wandered in it had possessed the force to pursue any of them right onwards, without turning off to follow passion for their guide. Frederick Schlegel remarks, "that even the errors of Paganism, as in the instance of the Indian doctrine of emanation, would be totally inexplicable, unless considered as perverted conceptions

of revealed truth; and that we have ample reason, from historical evidence alone, to feel assured of the fact of an original revelation. The Indian mythology and philosophy," he says, "form the first system which was substituted for the pure light of truth. All ancient Oriental doctrines, however disguised by error and fiction, are founded in, and dependent on, divine and marvellous revelations. It was only after a long period that the vital idea and tradition became so greatly vitiated and enfeebled as to lose themselves in the false and visionary notion of Pantheism, which, as the offspring of unassisted reason, marks the transition from the Oriental to the European philosophy." The uniformity of the ancient traditions which have existed in different regions of the globe, and the speculative consent of philosophers in regard to many great truths of a religious and moral nature, sufficiently attest the fact, that the wild inventions and savage errors which became every where predominant, were but the natural result of a wilful rejection of, and estrangement from, revealed truth; for, in a certain sense, neither the light of revelation, nor that of reason assisted by it, can be said to have ever wholly failed men upon this road, though the vast majority proved blind and faithless to their ruin. Accordingly, the Apostolic men who were sent in later ages to guide the Gentiles expressly to the centre, adopted generally a mode of instruction, which supposed the previous existence, or at least a reminiscence, of this light in the minds that were to be conducted back to the straight paths of God. The counsels of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, to St. Boniface, as to the manner he should confute the Pagans, supply a curious instance; for he says, "that there should be no open attack upon their belief, but a system of questioning respecting it, to show its inconsistency; and a prudent insinuation of the truth, which would necessarily undermine it. Ask them," he says, "if the gods continue to marry? what is their number? in what they derive benefit from sacrifices? Then you may contrast the Christian doctrine with the fables of Paganism." In other words, appeal to truths, of which they have already a perception by means of natural reason, or the general traditions of the human race. Nevertheless, this road will lead us through regions full of grief, where the signals to truth are furnished by the melancholy ruins of a lost and degraded world. The Laocoon may be said to represent the state of humanity in the spaces through which we have now to wander; where youth is entwined by the releaseless folds of the serpent, and age is vainly struggling, with tears and agony, for a common deliverance.

This road has been trodden by Christian feet from the commencement. The holy fathers, the schoolmen, the philosophers who succeeded them, the magistrates, warriors, and kings of the middle ages—in fine, men of erudition at the present day, though

too often unlike all their predecessors, are equally familiar with the scenes and sights which are found upon it. There is no profession, hardly no walk of active life, in which at least some who follow it do not consult classical antiquity. As Theodulf, archbishop of Orleans, in the time of Charlemagne, says of himself, " Legimus et crebro gentilia scripta sophorum," Alcuin informs us that the Pagan poets were by the side of the fathers of the Church in the library of York ; and, indeed, where are they not found? Niebuhr remarks the immense love entertained for Virgil during the middle ages. He observes that throughout that interval Cicero was a great name, respected by all ; that St. Bernard, and other eminent men of those times, comprehended Cicero well, and were able to enter into his spirit ; and that it has become the fashion only recently to treat him with contempt, though the pleasure taken in his works is still the standard to estimate the intellectual culture of an age as of a man. In fine, he admits that all the instructed classes of the middle ages were familiar with the literature and history of the Romans. Certainly, in the Catholic civilization, a great familiarity with Pagan literature was evinced by men of all classes. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Don Gutierre de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, and a cousin of the king, lectured on the classics in the university of Salamanca, where Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, son of the Count of Haro, subsequently his successor in the hereditary dignity of grand constable of Castille, read lectures on Pliny and Ovid. Don Alfonse de Maurique, son of the Count of Paredes, was professor of Greek in the university of Alcala ; and even ladies of the court of Castille were conversant with the great authors of antiquity, Donna Lucia de Medrano publicly lecturing on the Latin classics in the university of Salamanca. The signals set up of old for the Gentiles, faint and spectral as they now appear, are therefore still of great importance to guide every Christian generation, though, it is true, the use which is made of them differs greatly, according to the disposition of those who pass by ; for, in regard to the results of the ancient erudition, men seem under the influence of that Pagan rod, which rouses some sleeping men and sends to sleep others. Some, like the Albigensian heretics, avow their relationship with the propagators of old error, saying that God spoke in Ovid as much as in Augustin*. St. Augustin lamented the classical associations of his youth, saying, " Displicet mihi sæpe interpositum fortunæ vocabulum, et quas musas, quasi aliquas Deas, quamvis jocando commemoraverim†." In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the classical mania, untem-

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* Cæsar. Heisterb. Illust. Mis. et Hist. Mem. lib. v. c. 22.

† Lib. i. Retract. c. 3.

pered by the sense of a playful application, but in serious madness, raged in Italy. Lipsius remarks that it was then for the first time that faith began to be called persuasio, as it is now by Englishmen; and that no other expression for the divinity but that of the immortal gods sounded sufficiently elegant. Elsewhere, too, the same absurdity prevailed. Angels were called genii; priests, flamines; nuns, vestals—whose institution would be safer now, perhaps, if they could take shelter under a Pagan title. Lipsius himself, grew ashamed of his baptismal name, Judocus, from a Belgian hermit, and changed it to Justus, as more classical*. Such consequences might have disarmed those critics who would otherwise have complained of the view taken of Pagan learning by the monks, who, communicating in silence, and having signs to indicate the kind of book that any one desired, used to indicate their want of a heathen work by an expression of contempt, scratching the ear like a dog†. To direct men who are obstinately bent upon a return to the Pagan world, the signals along this road, pointing to the truth of Catholicity, may prove inadequate; but there are other wanderers of a very different capacity, who can penetrate their sense, and derive real and immense utility from reading them. Our Lord, after his resurrection, commanded his disciples to go into Galilee, saying that there they should see Him. "This," says Rupertus, "was prescribing their passage to the Gentiles, to commemorate which a procession was solemnly made on the day when that gospel was read‡." It was deemed advisable to observe the injunction in every age, and proceed thus to where our Lord commenced and terminated his preaching. For those proceeding to consult the Gentiles with this spirit, not alone the Pagan himself, but the very language of the Pagan, in consequence of the linguistic action of Catholicity, brings homage to the truth. "A Christian poet should remember," says an old French writer, alluding to the latter, that "by the conversion of the Roman empire the Latin language was converted§." With this understanding, the road of Pagans, rendering men familiar with their language, poetry, and philosophy, and at the same time free from the thraldom with which a blind passion for their literature would create, becomes secure from the absurd attempts of men to recall error through attachment to the words and forms by which it was conveyed to the Gentile world, while the same vehicle of thoughts becomes instrumental to the purposes of highest wisdom, conducting men, by the love of its intrinsic beauties and associations, to the truth. "Accordingly," as Pope Innocent III. observes, "not only did the Church willingly

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* Epist. lvii. cent. 2.

† Mart. de Antiq. Mon. Rit.

‡ De Divinis Officiis, vii. 21.

§ Le Vieux Balzac.

assume some of the constitutions of the old law, but she even adopted whatever she found in the writings of the Gentiles that was well said or done—cutting off, as it were, the nails and superfluous hairs of the captive woman, that, being freed from a foreign superfluity, she might be worthy to enter the bride-chamber of truth *." Thus St. Bruno uses the Gentile imagery, saying, " The poet teaches us how grateful to men oppressed with heat and labours is the breath of a gentle air, as in the lines,—

" Nam neque me tantum venientis sibilus Austri,
Nec percussa juvant fluctu tam litora quantum."

" And what," he asks, " should we understand by that south wind but the afflation of the Holy Spirit?" We should watch for good, as another poet says, in the same manner that robbers watch for booty ; as in the line,—

" Ut jugilent homines surgunt de nocte latrones ;"

only our vigils should not be like theirs, evil †. So of Geoffroy, count of Angers, Johannes Monachus says, " This admirable man spoiled the Ægyptians, transferring their sentences, as so much gold and silver, to the use of the Israelites. For, when he read in sacred letters, Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas, he was affected with admiration to find in secular books the lines—

' O curas hominum, O quantum est in rebus inane.'

When in sacred writ he observed the discretion of Jacob, saying, ' Si greges meos plus in ambulando fecero laborare, morientur cuncti simul una die ;' he heard from seculars, ' Est modus in rebus,' &c. ; in sacred writ he heard, ' Declina à malo et fac bonum ;' he heard from a secular page,—

' Est quoddam prodire tenus si non datur ultra.'

He heard in sacred scripture, ' Omnia mensurate fiant propter pusillanimes ;' he heard from seculars, ' Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima stultitia caruisse.' But why proceed? What did he not find in secular learning? which the noble man reading and considering, he felt that it would be disgraceful if a Christian did not fulfil what the poor Gentiles even prescribed ‡."

The road of Pagans then, familiar thus to Christian wayfarers,

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* De Sac. Alt. Mysterio, lib. iv. 4.

† S. Brun. Exposit. de Confessoribus.

‡ Joan. Mon. Gauf. Ducis N. Hist. lib. i.

may be said to present two distinct avenues through which the truth of Catholicity is visible: and these consist in the accordance of the ancients with what our holy faith lays down; and in their miserable defects and failures, departing from it both in regard to speculation and to practice. The accordance of Paganism with faith may be considered in relation to doctrine and practice, on each of which divisions we can but cast a passing glance; but it will be sufficient to show how clear is the way indicated before us to the point where Catholicism is recognized as the supreme felicity of man. The mediæval writers, as well as the earliest Christian apologists, were struck with the width and grandeur of this avenue. Thus in the twelfth century the translator of Cato's sentences makes this observation, "Katon estoit paien, e ne savoit riens de crestiene loi, e nepargnant ne dist riens nule en sun escrit encuntre notre foi; partut bien se concorde e de riens ne descorde à la Seinte-Escripture. Proiez sanz essoine pur Everard le moine ki ceste ouvraige enfrent: ore proiez pur le moine, ke Deus son quer esloigne de mal et de pechié, e qu'il lui doint sa grace ke il la chose face selonc la verité. Amen *."

The monk might have said with the poet of our times,—

"The key of truths which once were dimly taught
In old Crotona, and sweet melodies
Of love, in that lone solitude I caught."

And with another,—

"Mine be it, then, in heathen lore to trace
The lingering steps of truth, and loathe the skill
Which, with disdainful arguing, shrewdly shows
Where man hath err'd, not where th' abiding force
Of innate good still won his soul to truth,
Amid the clouds of error; mine to find
Light's remanent conversings with the soul,
Not Satan's darkenings.——
For through them all the jealous stream of truth
Hath carved its channel, and on dank-leaved shores
Left many a stealthy drop, that may remind
The wary downcast eye of that pure flood
Which gave them these for pearls and ornaments."

The agreement between the ancients and our sacred records need not detain us, as many books have been composed expressly to illustrate it, and the school recollections of most readers must have prepared them for admitting it. Obviously those sacrifices and purifications of the Gentiles had reference to the great doc-

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* Distiques de Caton, MSS. xii. cent.

trine of atonement, of which tradition conveyed to them some idea of the prophetic announcement. The very name of pontiff, derived from the custom of placing him at his consecration in a trench, and causing the blood of a victim to fall upon him through a bridge composed of a pierced wooden plank, is significative. That doctrine of the migration allotted to souls, implying the conviction that nothing defective, impure, or defiled with earthly stains, can enter the pure region of perfect spirits, or be eternally united to God, and the desire of the ancients to avert or to mitigate that state of purification, for which purpose no exertion they thought ought to be spared, clearly opened an issue to the Christian doctrine as taught by the Catholic Church. We need hardly point out how many of the philosophers, as Origen observes, believed that there will be a future judgment, that the soul is immortal, and that it will be treated in a future according to its deserts in the present life [*]. St. Cyprian, in his book on the vanity of idols, thinks it certain, from Plato and Socrates, that the angels were known to the Gentiles. The creation was sung by Linus, and described by Anaxagoras as Diogenes Laertius tells. Chrysippus and the Stoics recognized that the world is governed with intelligence and conducted by a Providence; and Posidonius taught its subordination to a superior state by saying, that heaven is the principal part of the world. A particular Providence is taught by the poet, however the doctrine was disguised under ignoble forms, as in the familiar lines describing his escape from the falling tree; which deliverance would have been impossible, he says,—

——— "Nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum."

And gratitude for such protection is inculcated in the concluding words,—

——— "Reddere victimas
Ædemque votivam memento [†]."

The Stoics, as if coming from the Catholic school, used to say, that a man can be an atheist two ways, either by denying God's existence, or by having inclinations which place him in opposition with God [‡]. Every one has heard that it was the Hortensius of Cicero which first led St. Augustin to feel an ardent love for wisdom and for God [§]. Hermes Trismegistus, the Ægyptian king, priest, and philosopher, born one hundred and fifty years after Moses, so revered that it was not lawful to pronounce his

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[*] Hom. vii. in Levit.

[†] ii. 14.

[‡] Diog. Laert.

[§] Confess. iii. 4.

name rashly in public, who was called, as some suppose, Ter Maximus, from his having taught the doctrine of the Trinity (though Marsilius Ficinus concludes that it was rather in consequence of his triple dignity), seems in his dialogues of Pymander and Asclepus to have taught a theology wholly conformable to the true wisdom, and to have had a knowledge, as Collius says, certainly of all things necessary to salvation. He teaches the creation and preservation of all things by God, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as is observed by Suidas, St. Cyrille of Alexandria, St. Damascenus, St. Thomas, Marsilius Ficinus, and Cornelius à Lapide*. He taught also the incarnation of the Son of God, the fall of the demon, the day of judgment, the resurrection of the dead, and the eternity of rewards and punishments†. The first chapter of the Pymander terminates with a sweet hymn in praise of God, which is redolent of Christian piety‡. Orpheus, the Thracian, older than Homer, living 1622 years before Christ, the founder of theology with the Greeks, taught many admirable things respecting God, the word, and the creation of the world§. "Sibylla porro vel Sibyllæ et Orpheus," says St. Augustin, "et nescio quis Hermes, et si qui alii vates, vel theologi, vel sapientes, vel philosophi gentium de Filio Dei an de Patre Deo vera prædixisse, seu dixisse, perhibentur, valet quidem aliquid ad Paganorum veritatem revincendam; non autem ad istorum auctoritatem amplectendam, cum illum Deum nos colere ostendimus, de quo nec illi tacere potuerunt, qui suas congentiles populos, idola et dæmonia colenda, partim docere ausi sunt; partim prohibere ausi non sunt ||." Tertullian cites the example of Socrates as having been hated and put to death for rejecting the false gods of the nations ¶; and St. Justin Martyr, in his first apology to the Roman senate, says, "Socrates was accused of the same crime as that of which we are accused, namely, of asserting that there is but one God." St. Irenæus says, that Plato had sounder views of religion than the heretics of his own day whom he was refuting**. The conformity of his doctrine to the Hebrew scriptures is well known. St. Augustin says, that if Plato could return to the world, he would doubtless become a Christian as most of the Platonicians of his time did††. What delighted Cicero in his stay at Athens was his associating the very spot with this philosophy; and, if our classic travellers who visit Greece had caught the true spirit of these groves and porches, they would pay their first homage to Catholicity as

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* Collius de Animabus Paganorum, iii. 27.

† Id. iii. 29.

‡ Id. 30.

§ Id. lib. iv. 1.

|| S. Aug. cont. Faust. Max. xiii. c. 15.

¶ Apolog. 46.

** Advers. Hær. iii. 35.

†† De Vera Religione, c. 3.

Plato and Cicero would perhaps have done if they had known it. Pope Nicholas V. had such an admiration for the prudence of Plato, that he commanded a Latin translation to be made of his books on laws, as worthy, with a few things excepted, of being proposed to nations who enjoy the light of faith *. The Gentiles too, it must be remembered, had their prophecies announcing, as Tacitus and Suetonius relate, that "men sprung from Judæa would become masters of the world." It suited the purpose of infidels, like Fréret—of Protestants, like Blondel—of Jansenists, like Dupin—and of men unconsciously disposed to fall in with their views, like Dom Ceillier, to deny the inspiration of the sibyls, and cast doubts on their existence; but the celebrated Father Crasset, and Collius, a guide to be respected, whatever progress criticism may be thought to have made since his time, have weighed and found wanting all the arguments on which such incredulity can rest. The latter indeed observes, that he at first agreed "with the vulgar opinion," which held the sibylline oracles to be a fable; but on minutely studying the question he came to a contrary conclusion †. Every one, however, admits that the copies now existing have been falsified; but the fragments preserved by the Pagan authors, and by the fathers of the first ages, are sufficient to establish the fact of their existence, and of their having prophesied of Christ. They are mentioned by Plato, Aristotle, Varro, Cicero, Diodorus, Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Livy, Pausanias, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Plutarch. From the very first the Christians used to press the Gentiles with the authority of the sibyls, as St. Justin Martyr bears witness, observing that their books are happily preserved throughout the whole world, as in fact it can be proved that the books of the sibyls were not burnt with the capitol under Sylla, or with the temple of Apollo, to which they had been removed ‡. The confidence with which the fathers appealed to their testimony, and the conversions to which it led, inspired the Pagans with such fear that it was made a capital crime for any one to read the sibylline oracles. The Emperor Aurelian by a decree prohibited the Christians from consulting them; and Antoninus Pius forbade them to be read under pain of death, which shows that many of the Gentiles were led by the sibylline prophecies to embrace the Christian religion. It is idle to argue, that from the precision of the predictions these must have been composed after the Christian era, since it is clear from Suidas that Phocilides, a philosopher who lived 647 years after the siege of Troy, had borrowed whole sentences of

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* Collius, v. 21.

† De Animab. Pag. p. ii. lib. iii. c. 28.

‡ Caillan, Hist. de N. D. de Lorette, note sur les Sibylles.

the sacred Scriptures, from whom the sibyl, supposing her uninspired, might have received them. Lactantius says, that the Pagans had recourse to this expedient, saying, that the sibylline verses must have been composed by the Christians; but he refutes them, and appeals to the testimony of Cicero and Varro, who had read the same oracles. Cicero speaks of the Erythrean sibyl, and of the acrostic which so wonderfully attests the name and qualities of Christ by the first letters of each verse, which he says exhibits singular art *; and Eusebius affirms that Cicero in this passage alludes to the very same verses which we possess; to which opinion Collius on other grounds subscribes †. Collius believes that this class of sibylline prophecies proceeded from divine inspiration—from Him who is the God, not of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles. "These things were prescribed to you by the prophetic and poetic sibyl," says St. Clement of Alexandria, or as St. Justin Martyr says, "Let the authority of the most ancient sibyl persuade you, whose books divinely inspired are spread throughout the whole world ‡." All the first fathers appeal to them, Pope St. Clement, St. Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Lactantius, Theophylus of Antioch, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, and finally the holy Church, singing, teste David cum Sibylla §. It is no other but to our Lord Christ, says St. Augustin, that the human race may say,—

"Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras;"

which idea Virgil borrowed from the verses of the Cumæan sibyl ‖.

In fine, the accordance between the deposit of faith and the doctrines of early antiquity is so remarkable in that department of Paganism which forms the Oriental literature, that Frederick Schlegel calls upon our age to explore that rich mine in order to bring back those ideas of God, that vigour to the intellect, that truth and intensity of feeling to the soul, which invest all art, science, and literature with new and glorious life. But the accordance of the Gentile philosophy with Catholicism appears perhaps still more wonderful when it is viewed in relation to the moral duties of mankind. "What a conformity," exclaims Thomassinus, "between the offices of Cicero and those of St. Ambrose ¶!" He could not be far from admiring the doctrine of

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* De Divinatione, lib. ii. post med.

† ii. lib. iii. c. 30.

‡ Orat. Par. ad Gentes.

§ ii. lib. iii. c. 36.

‖ Epist. 258.

¶ Traité des Juraments.

forgiveness, as laid down by the ascetic school of Christians who used those sublime words, "Neque me vero pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere*." In general, an examination of the most celebrated works of antiquity demonstrates, as is remarked by a French author, that each stands like a beacon lighted on the road of human life. They are true but relative; and error arises from the effort of some to take a part for the whole. But all these ideas of genius have their focus in Catholicity. Homer sends us to the idea that life is a contest; Virgil to an inference that the life of a nation is the same; Plato to the search of unity as the source of truth and beauty; Æschylus to power; Euripides to the law of expiation†. It is not therefore alone against the manners required by the Catholic religion, or, if they prefer the word, by popery, that the infidel writers of the present day should direct their histories, romances, poems, philosophic treatises and laws. They should hate as cordially those who admire the morality of the most renowned Gentiles; they should evince the same contempt when men describe the brave Scipio and the wise Lucilius, and cite the Gentile poet loving pleasure, who yet says,—

——— "Non in caro nidore voluptas
Summa, sed in te ipso est."

If the ascetic morality of the Catholic Church be judged mistaken, according to the popular writers of England and France, then must all the books of the ancient philosophers which treat upon the religious, social, and even political duties of mankind be given up with it; and what right founded on its superior intelligence has the modern Gentilism, without genius, without virtue, without hope, to call upon us to make such a sacrifice? Collius says, that he could fill whole treatises with passages from Hermes Trismegistus in recommendation of a holy life and chaste manners‡; and he shows that the doctrine and manners of the seven sages of Greece, Thales, Solon, Chilon, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander, had a close resemblance to the Catholic wisdom; for Thales, who flourished 540 years before Christ, who, as Diogenes Laertius says, "was addicted to solitude and to a retired life, taught the immortality of the soul, the necessity of chaste manners, the duty of honouring parents, and the creation of the world by God. He gave as a rule of life, to refrain from what we reprehend in others; and he despised riches. The noble liberality of Solon was memorable—the justice of his laws celebrated. The manners of Chilon resembled those of a Chris-

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* Pro Rabirio.

† Etudes sur les Idées, ii. 291.

‡ De Animab. Pag. iii. 30.

tian, such was his pacific, silent, inoffensive life, free from all avarice, disobedience, pride, and luxury. Pittacus renounced empire, dismissed unpunished the slayer of his son. His laws were to enforce temperance ; his maxims the pardon of injuries, and the love of purity and virtue. Bias taught the great Catholic doctrine, that men cannot practise virtue without the divine assistance. Cleobulus taught a moral doctrine, wholly conformable to the decalogue, and evinced singular moderation of mind in all things. Periander, who used to say that nothing should be done for the sake of money, as we should only gain things which procure gain, taught and practised wisdom, possessing sovereign power *. How, often, again have we had occasion to remark the Homeric character of Catholic manners? In fact, if those manners are to be renounced as being in principle and form false, the great poet too ought to be banished without delay from all human memory ; for, besides that he had the knowledge of the one God, as St. Justin Martyr and St. Cyril of Alexandria remark †, Homer advocates manners that are now, we may almost say, distinctively Catholic—such as frugality, contentedness with little, cordial benevolence ; and Dion Chrysostom says, that Socrates was more truly a disciple of Homer than of Archelaus. Socrates and Homer were also both despisers of profit ; and St. Cyril of Alexandria observes, that from the combats described by Homer, we might learn to consider the opposition between virtues and vices, and the war which always exists between them. The mediæval painters, in representing the Christian on horseback, armed and engaged in conflict with the deadly sins, use in fact the same imagery. "The writings of Homer," says a French author, "rest on high virtues which approach the Christian standard. The love of immortality makes men despise perishable joy, pleasure, and life itself. It is because the poet has touched the eternal chords of the heart that all hearts will for ever vibrate at his voice. Man never sees the beginning or the end of his actions ; they are proclaimed indefinitely through an invisible world, vaguely, incommensurably, like the sound which travels towards the echo. The mysteries of faith are in fact the beginning and end of human thought, however it may be disfigured ; but how many truths in all human thought! how much second sight, or appreciation of things invisible! The contempt of life and of pleasure, the superiority of the intellectual over the physical nature, are painted by Homer, Virgil, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the renown of all such poets having arisen from some great thoughts which are identical with the light of faith ‡."

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* iv. c. 10.

† Lib. i. Cont. Jul.

‡ Etudes sur les Idées, &c., i. 180.

We have already been referred to the sibyls; and here we should observe, that the holy and innocent manners of these mysterious poets were associated in the minds of all the ancients with their doctrine. Then, again, who has not been struck with observing the piety of Numa Pompilius; or, if you prefer such scepticism, the character ascribed by Gentile historians to that king, which, as far as we are concerned, amounts to the same thing? It is Pagan writers who tell us, that without first consulting Heaven he would not take the least step; that, flying the company of men, he often remained alone in desert places in meditation; that in public worship he insisted on the utmost attention; from whose decree we trace the celebrated and never-to-be-sufficiently-praised saying, Age quod agis. In general, that the Pagans had views of the relation between government and manners, which resembled far more the political and social maxims of Catholicism than the principles of those who now adopt an antagonistic system, may be collected from the words of Valerius Maximus:—"Noluerunt prisci viri quicquam in hac asservari civitate quo animi hominum à deorum cultu avocarentur—omnia namque post religionem ponenda semper nostra civitas duxit, etiam in quibus summæ majestatis conspici decus voluit*." But to return to the philosophers. "Meritoque magnus apud philosophos habitus Pythagoras," as St. Ambrose says†. Pythagoras seems to have observed not only the commands, but even the counsels of the Catholic religion, as in the instance of voluntary poverty. Such was his frugality and temperance, that St. Jerome says his example, as that of Socrates and of Antisthenes, might shame Christians. Then, again, St. Justin Martyr speaks as if he considered Heraclitus a Christian, for he associates him with the ancient saints, Abraham and Misaël; "for," saith he, "they who lived conformably to reason are Christians, though they may be counted Atheists, as with the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and others like them; and with barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misaël, Elias, and many others‡." Heraclitus taught Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and Hecateus, that the sole wisdom consists in knowing the will according to which all things in the world are governed. Marsilius Ficinus says that Socrates was raised up by Heaven to pacify minds; that his life was a mirror or shadow of the Christian life: and St. John Chrysostom, in his second book against the vituperators of the monastic life, proposes Socrates as a kind of example of Christian poverty and monastic profession. "Socrates," says Collius, "preferred eternal to temporal things; he feared to act unjustly more than death; and for piety and charity he was ready to undergo labour, penury, insult, and

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* Lib. i. † Ep. 20. ‡ Apolog. 2.

death." St. Augustin says that Socrates was put to death for having reproved, with a sweet and admirable urbanity, the arrogance of the sophists who professed to know somewhat*. In fine, Socrates was said to be the only one of all the philosophers of antiquity who was willing to die for asserting divine truth†. As Eusebius Cæsariensis says, no one ever saw him doing, or heard him saying, any thing impious or superstitious. What seems most admirable was his disposition to forgive his accusers and judges at his death. What could be more Catholic than such a disposition? Then, coming to another great majestic shade, Collius admits the sanctity, probity, and innocence of Plato‡. What zeal does he evince for the divine honour and worship; what excellent maxims does he lay down as to the reverence of parents; what magnanimity did he evince in reproving tyrants when they afflicted the people with extortions and tributes, not sparing even Dionysius of Sicily, under whose power he was living. Plato, as Marsilius Ficinus observes, chose his residence in the academy, knowing it to be the most unhealthy place in Attica; and St. Jerome and St. Basil suppose that he did so from remarking that too robust health would render it more difficult to combat vices. After citing a passage of the Gorgias, Collius exclaims,—" At, O bone Jesu, quid Christianum hominem, ut probe vivat, quid eos qui eremum colunt, ut Satanæ insidias devitent, quid eos qui angelicam in terris vitam agunt, aliud inflammavit unquam ad virtutis studium, quam hæc una mentis contemplatio, quæ Platonis animum toties demulsit§?" And see how practical in many respects, like Catholicity, is the Socratic or Platonician wisdom. In the Enthyphro, Socrates disengages ideas from words; in the Apology, he shows that the wisest are the most humble, and that we must bear our witness to truth, even at the risk of our lives; in the Laws, that the soul has need of a celestial light to be able to see; in the Crito, that the least duty is to be preferred to the greatest advantage; in the Phædo, that life should be employed in elevating the soul—that there is a future existence—and that the soul should be disengaged from the body; in the Theætetus, that the germ of truth resides in all men, but that the individual has not the measure of truth; in the Gorgias, that it is better to suffer than to commit injustice—that it is useful to the soul to be chastised—and that he who suffers punishment is delivered from the evil of his soul; in the Euthydemus, that the science of the sophists is empty and vain; in the second Alcibiades, that it is better to be ignorant than to have a false

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* De Civ. Dei, viii. 3.

† Thom. Bozius de Signis Ecclesiæ, viii. 6.

‡ Lib. v. c. 21.

§ Lib. v. c. 22.

science, and that the interior desire is worth far more than the exterior expression ; in the Theages, that the only true wisdom is love ; in the Phædus, that it is love, or, as Socrates defines it, the desire of something that is wanting which gives wings to the soul, and enables it to mount to heaven ; in the Meno, that virtue is the gift of God, not of nature, but an infusion by a divine influence ; in the Banquet, that love leads us to contemplate the supreme beauty, the universal type, the Creator, from which vision we derive virtue and immortality*. How many signals, such as are ironically styled popish tricks by Shakspeare, are conveyed in all this philosophy! Here is, indeed, enough to kindle the indignation of the moderns. Plato shows, in fine, that the end of laws should be to make men virtuous. His sublime intelligence seems to have caught, through ancient traditions, the rays of a primitive light, and to have had a presentiment of the dawn of a new and ever-glorious day. So great is the accordance between his lessons and those of faith, that St. Thomas of Villanova deemed it necessary to show that Catholicism was not philosophy. "Let philosophers know," he says, "that faith is not without wisdom—quia non est sine sapientia fides. The Evangelist does not Platonize, but Plato evangelized†." It would be long to trace the agreement between ancient sages and the wisdom and discipline of the perfect. The probations of religious orders seem represented in that anecdote related of Zeno, who, on a rich affected Rhodian offering to be his disciple, did not wish to receive him, but made him sit on steps covered with dust, that his clothes might be soiled, finally placing him among the poor, when the young man left him, as finding he had no vacation to be of his college. Descending to the later philosophers, we find the same signal consisting in the assent of the wisest and greatest men to the Catholic doctrine of life and manners. "When I read certain sentences of Seneca," says Collius, "I seem to hear not a Gentile philosopher, but a doctor of the Christian faith‡." St. Charles Borromæo, in earlier life, used to admire greatly the sentences of Epictetus. St. Gregory Nazianzen composed poems in praise of Epictetus ; St. Gregory the Great extols his patience and magnanimity ; St. John Chrysostom cites the example of Epictetus to prove the wisdom of those who embrace poverty ; and, in fine, St. Augustin speaks strongly in his praise. Such admiration did Plotinus excite by declaiming on the vanity of all things, that many noble men and women, at their death, commended to him, as to a divine guardian, their sons and daughters, and all their substance§. Plutarch, in his moral treatises, fur-

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* Etudes sur les Idées, &c.

† In Die Nat. Dom. v.

‡ p. ii. lib. i. c. 8.

§ Collius, p. ii. lib. i. c. 29.

nishes another example. In all the contempt and displeasure visited upon the apologists of Catholic manners by the infidel writers of our time, must the Chæronean sage be involved, in consequence of his treatises on the tranquillity of the soul; on moral virtue; on anger; on the rage for speaking; on curiosity; on the utility to be drawn from one's enemies; on the disadvantage of having too many friends; and of his associating the doctrine of the soul's immortality with this assurance, that those who have lived pure and chaste lives rise immediately after death to a divine state, while others, absorbed in the flesh, that keeps them down, have difficulties*. In fine, the positive virtues of the Gentiles, as not alone admired in theory, but actually practised by them, direct no less to the central truth, which diffuses the true graces, of which they were at best but a faint shadow, and a vague anticipation. That piety of Lucius Albinus, the Roman, who, in the ruin of his country, made his wife and children give up to the vestals their chariot, in which they were flying, thinking it would be impious to see them on foot, and his own family mounted in a carriage†—that fund of goodness, as Plutarch says, which Camillus—who appears, he says, to have been religious from the bottom of his heart—joined with his religion, which caused him to weep on beholding the miseries caused by his own success—these traits collected by Valerius, De pietate in parentes; Marcius Coriolanus, vincible only by the countenance of his mother; Africanus saving his father's life; Manlius daring the Tribune, in order to avert an accusation from his father, though he had treated him with unnatural severity; M. Cotta, and C. Flaminius, models of filial reverence and love‡; then, again, the Romans punishing lust, even only in the mind conceived—non enim factum sed animus in quæstionem deductus est; plusque voluisse peccare nocuit quam non peccasse profuit, and pursuing it even after death—usque ad inferos§; the Roman Senate consecrating the image Veneris Verticordiæ, by which minds might be converted from vice to the love of modesty and purity; the Lacedæmonians ordering the books of Archilochus to be banished from the state—quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret quam ingeniis prodesset‖; these are examples that can hardly be presented in the course of classical studies, resumed with the reflection of mature age, without awakening a train of ideas favourable to a recognition of the divine wisdom of that morality, which in a supreme degree, and in an uninterrupted stream, emanates from the Catholic faith.

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* Life of Romulus.

† Cicero in Ver. v. 40.

‡ v.

§ vi.

‖ vi.

But we must hasten on, and presume that we have sufficiently observed the fact of this twofold accordance: we are arrived, by means of it, certainly at another and spacious avenue to Catholicism; for do not these traditions, doctrines, and manners, transmitted by all people, and held and practised by men universally recognized as the wisest and greatest of the Gentiles, present an opening to that Church, which collects as in a focus these scattered and faint rays, flowing to it as to their natural centre, glowing, when returned to it, with a new effulgence, which proves that they have found in it their true fountain, as they have evidently met in it the only medium of their further transmission, since the Catholic Church alone perpetuates an analogous wisdom and corresponding manners; it being an evident fact, that without her pale, amidst the European nations, excepting in the way of mere erudition exercising no influence upon life, the whole moral wisdom of the ancients, for the opinions of Epicurus do not belong to it, and all the primeval traditions of the human race, may be said to have perished; the civilization of the rationalists having established at present such a state of opinions in the government, and in the influential classes, and such a condition of morals in many of the governed, that, perhaps, there would be no great injustice in supposing, on the hypothesis of Salvian having returned to the world, that he would again appeal from professed Christians, not alone to the greatest and wisest, but even to the most barbarous of the Gentiles, saying, "Do the rites of the Scythians and Gepidæ cause the name of the Saviour to be blasphemed? Can it be said of them, Where is the Catholic law which they believe? where are the holy precepts which they have learned? They read the gospel, and they are impure; they hear the apostles, and they are drunken; they follow Christ, and they are dishonest; they lead a wicked life, and they say they have a good law*." Certainly it would not be easy to show why he might not then proceed, expressly urging the old Gentile authorities, and say, "I wish there were many who might be praised. The generosity of many would be the advantage of all. But be it so. You will not be laudable. Why, however, will you be damnable? Why is nothing dearer to you than injustice—nothing pleasanter than avarice—nothing better than rapacity? Hear from a Pagan man the true good. 'Caritate enim,' he says, 'et benevolentia septum te oportet esse, non armis.' Your opinions, therefore, deceive you. If you wish to be powerful and great, you ought to surpass others—not in malignity, but in virtue. For I have read somewhere, Nemo malus nisi stultus. Si enim saperet, bonus esse malet. If you wish to be sound, put yourself aside,

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* Salvian. de Gubernatione Dei, lib. iv. 17.

and be altogether changed. Abdicate self, lest you be cast off by Christ*. And see how the moral sense of the barbarians, for it was not Arianism that guided them in this respect, ought to shame these practical antagonists of the Catholic religion." "They love impurity," says Salvian; "the Goths execrate it. Sensuality with them is a crime; with these Epicurean Christians it is an ornament. In the overthrow of Spain, God seems to have given victory to the Vandals solely to show how he loved chastity; and defeat to the Spaniards to mark his horror of their impurity; for He gave them to the weakest of the barbarians, that this cause, without any other aid, might triumph†. The barbarians not only detested and avoided the vices of the Romans, but they did more, for they took care to provide that others should not be infected with the pollution. Who could have believed that the Vandals would have done this in the centre of the Roman empire? From all Africa they removed the contagion of impurity, and they abolished all provision for abominable sins. They enacted the wisest laws to infuse purity into manners, compelling all to exchange a licentious for the married state; removing all temptations from without by their measures of police—quia non putaverunt a se ulli homini permittendum nisi quod fuisset omnibus a divinitate permissum‡." True, it reflects credit on no one to evince blindness to the merit of his contemporaries; but it may, perhaps, be permitted to a student of Pagan antiquity to express fears thus, lest the reproaches of Salvian should be as applicable to later times as to those which heard them first uttered: and, if it be lawful for him to insinuate that the majority of men who reject the principles of the Catholic religion can be considered—after all their protestations about the Bible being their sole rule, and the progress of humanity their paramount ambition—as in no moral respect superior to the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, in whom the Gentile element was still predominant, he could hardly be refused leave to arrive at a conclusion still more distressing to those who have wished to maintain that there is a constant and steady improvement in society, if he were to contrast their opinions and manners with those of the same empire in its greatness, when God showed, as St. Augustin says, of what avail are civil virtues, even without the true religion§; or with those of the philosophers, and poets, and heroes of antiquity, whose maxims, sentences, and manners, if presented under a disguised name to that journalism which forms the public mind, would infallibly incur its censure or ridicule, as constituting some monkish superstition, or characteristic of popery, in what

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* Id. v. xi.

† Id. vii. 7.

‡ Id. vii. 22.

§ Epist. v.

it would call its most unenlightened form: nay, perhaps he might go further still, and say that it would be easier to boast of having a pure reformed system, and of having witnessed the progress of society, than to imagine a deity, before whose impure altars, some, at least, of the men who so pride themselves would refuse to make their offerings, if the circumstances of the world rendered it profitable for them to do so. He might demand, Is it not in their cities that idols have been fabricated for India, which could be as wisely governed, perhaps, without proceeding quite to such lengths of religious indifference? Is it not their national revenue that pays, or has paid, them tribute? But, be it that this is searching for an extreme case, little known, and of little practical results: still it might not be very easy to meet his challenge, when asking if it be possible to conceive any general apostasy from the love and service of the Creator, in which that philosophy, which is at least the foreign ally of Protestantism, would not suffer the multitude to pass their lives; since whatever remains to the people of Christian belief and practice is sure to incur its scorn, and become an object against which its repressive powers are directed as far as circumstances enable it to dare. It may therefore, on the whole, be permitted to such a student to conclude, while wanting in no manifestation of respect to any who deserve it, that whatever may be reserved presently for our observation on this road, when we shall have to remark the miseries and defects of the ancients, it might have been better for men to have groped their way with the Pagans, and taken their poor chance with them in the darkest and deepest recesses of the wild primitive forest of life, without other light but that of reason, and the faint rays of primeval revelation conveyed in the universal traditions of barbarous nations, than to have turned from Catholicity, when the ways to that central effulgence were open, in order—like so many at the present day, with an ingratitude which seems almost unaccountable—to substitute in its stead a kind of self-taught religion, or an eclectic philosophy, which is not always even distinguished for the happiness of its choice. It remains to observe the second avenue presented on the road of Pagans, which consists in the miserable defects and insufficiencies of their highest wisdom, and in the still more miserable contradiction between their lives and their principles, the full appreciation of which leaves us no alternative, after turning to them with horror from still more wretched desolation, but to press on henceforth without remission or misgiving as to our road, or desire of wavering from it, even in the most subtle field of imagination, to the centre in the Catholic Church.

It is the end which crowns the journey—the judgment of infinite justice which proves the work. While deliberating, there-

fore, respecting the prudence or expediency of turning to the Pagans to seek for guides from their philosophers and poets, an important question for all who believe in a future state is that which was proposed by Dante, when, alluding to them, he said,—

——— "Oh, tell me where
They bide, and to their knowledge let me come,
For I am pressed with keen desire to hear
If heaven's sweet cup, or poisonous drug of hell,
Be to their lips assigned *.
Say, if thou know where our old Terence bides,
Cæcilius, Plautus, Varro; if condemned
They dwell, and in what province of the deep †."

To answer such questions demands a different voice from that of the stranger; therefore, still to make use of the Dantæan words,—

——— "Let no step of thine recede;
Behind me gain the mountain, till to us
Some practised guide appear ‡."

Can we trust Pagans for our guides to the realms of eternal safety, as some would now imply, maintaining that philosophy and religion are two sisters with an equal claim, when it is a question of establishing a national education, and that the name of Plato is sufficient proof? Have Pagans themselves ever reached these realms? Already we have heard inferences that it would be well for many in these latter ages of the world if they had followed them, and if they had no reason to fear a worse futurity than theirs. But here we must distinguish, as the schoolmen say, premising that our new task involves the need of no retraction. "The Mosaic law," says Father Cahier, "was not the only means in the ancient world of pleasing God, as some vaguely suppose: for Job, presented to the Jews as a model, was not a child of Jacob or a proselyte; and Naaman returned to Syria without incurring any other obligation than that of sacrificing to the true God." St. Thomas says, "The old law manifested the precepts of the law of nature, and superadded certain particular precepts. As far, therefore, as the old law contained things of the law of nature, all men were bound to the observance of that old law; not because they were of that old law, but because they were of the law of nature; but, with respect to what the old law superadded, all men were not bound to the observance of that law, but the people of the Jews alone. However, as the Gentiles more perfectly and securely gained salvation under the observances of that law than under the sole natural law, they were admitted under it, in the same manner as laymen now pass to an ecclesiastical state, and seculars to reli-

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* Inf. 6. † Id. 22. ‡ Purg. 4.

gion, although without this they can be saved[*]." Collius accordingly says, that "many Gentiles and Pagans, from the fall of man to Moses, and from the time of Moses to the advent of our Saviour, obtained eternal salvation[†]." Through the whole discourse of St. Damascenus, pro Defunctis Fidelibus, he speaks of the salvation of many Pagans before the birth of Christ; St. Thomas also insists on the certainty of there having been multitudes of Gentiles saved before the time of Abraham[‡]: and Collius shows, that God offered to all the Pagans that grace which the holy fathers taught was necessary for the performance of a virtuous act[§]. "Doubtless," he says also, "for actual sins the Gentiles, by contrition supernaturally infused, may have gained pardon from God[‖]." Even in times of idolatry the true God was recognized and adored by many, as by Job in Arabia, Melchisedec in Chanaan and Syria, and the Queen Saba in Æthiopia or India[¶], though some would pretend that the latter only regarded Solomon as a demi-god, and that she came to worship him. Theophylactus will allow her no merit for the journey, saying, "Regina à longe venit quamvis esset mulier infirma, ut de arboribus, et lignis, et naturalibus quibusdam audiret, which were vain and futile studies in regard to merit; but Collius observes, that the Scripture acquits her of the charge of worshipping Solomon, and the Venerable Bede does not doubt of her salvation[**]." St. Augustin, as we have seen, held that the Erythræan or Cumæan sibyl may be counted among those who belonged to the city of God[††]; and St. Thomas regarded the sibyls as having been saved in virtue of an explicit faith in Jesus Christ[‡‡]. Johannes Scotus held that Pagans might have had the love of God above all things by natural virtue, and Collius subscribes to the opinion[§§]. That God, however, did confer grace on many of the Pagans, and was ever ready to open to them when they knocked, all the most celebrated doctors held, as Scotus[‖‖], Durandus[¶¶], Gabriel Biel[***], Cajetan[†††], and at one time St. Thomas[‡‡‡]. "It is the safest opinion," says Collius, "and that confirmed by the testimony of the noblest theologians, that God, through his benign liberality, would infuse into

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[*] Sum. p. ii. Q. 98. Art. 5. Monog. de Bourges; Collius de Animab. Pag. iii. c. 2.

[†] De Animabus Paganorum, lib. iii. 1.

[‡] 4 Sent. D. i. Q. 2. A. 1.

[§] Lib. i. c. 9.

[‖] Id. iii. 3.

[¶] Id. iii. 9.

[**] Id. iii. 21.

[††] De Civ. Dei, xviii. 23.

[‡‡] 22 Q. 172. art. 6.

[§§] Lib. i. 17, 18.

[‖‖] 4 Sent. D. 14.

[¶¶] 2 D. 28. Q. 5.

[***] 2 D. 27. Q. 1. A. 2. Conclus. 4, and A. 3. Dub. 4.

[†††] Tom. i. Opusc. t. iv. Q. 1.

[‡‡‡] 2 Sent. D. 28. Q. 1. A. 4.

the minds of the Pagans that light and faith, and dew of supernatural grace, by which they might attain to eternal beatitude, since he wishes all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of his truth*." "Most firmly then I believe," says Cornelius Mussus, "that if any born in the farthest limits of the earth, either in the woods of Libya or amidst the Scythians and Thracians, would worship God while in a juvenile age—for the woods themselves cry out that there is a God, and praise Him, and teach that He ought to be praised—and further would endeavour, as far as he could, to observe the natural law of right, as, for instance, that what he wished to be done to himself he would desire for others, and what he was unwilling to suffer he would beware of desiring for others; for these things are clear to all men, so that no one can truly say, 'Quis ostendet nobis bona?' for, as the prophet says, 'Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine,' then, without doubt, the merciful and most pious Father of all men, who created all men, wishing no one to perish, would illuminate him with a higher light, by which either as interiorly infused, or conveyed by external instruction, by the operation of angels or of men he would leave these groves, and would seek for the way by which he could attain to Christ and to the sacraments of Christ, although God has not so bound himself to sacraments, that besides in the common order he cannot save some without the sacraments†." "From Pagan reprobates," says the divine voice which St. Bridget heard, "I except all those Pagans who would willingly walk on the way of my commandments, if they knew how and were instructed. Such will not be judged with my enemies‡." And again she heard, "In Paganism, as in Jerusalem, there were many of the elect of God§." "Nothing so much pleases God," said the divine voice to her, "as that a man should love Him above all things. Lo, a certain Pagan woman, who knew nothing of the Catholic faith, thought thus with herself:—I know that I could not have a body, and limbs, and sense, unless some one had given them to me; and that must be a certain Creator, who made me thus beautiful. It seems therefore to me, that though I should have many husbands, I ought rather to run to the sole will of my Creator than to the voices of them all. I have many sons and daughters; yet, if I saw them with food in their hands, and knew that my Creator wanted it, I would take it from them and present it gratefully to Him. For I have many possessions at my disposal; and if I only knew the will of my Creator I would dispose of them to his honour. Lo, then, God sent one of his friends to this Pagan

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* Lib. i. c. 24.

† In c. i. ep. ad Rom.

‡ Revelationum S. Birgittæ, lib. i. c. 41.

§ Lib. iii. c. 27.

woman, who instructed her in the holy faith; and she received the word with joy, and it brought forth in her the fruit of eternal life; and thus, for her love to her Creator, did she receive a multiplied remuneration*." Here Dante, anticipating an objection, supplies an answer to it in conformity with faith; for to use his words,—

——— "Here confess revealed
That covert, which hath hidden from thy search
The living justice, of the which thou mad'st
Such frequent question; for thou said'st, 'A man
Is born on Indus' banks, and none is there
Who speaks of Christ, nor who doth read nor write,
And all his inclinations and his acts,
As far as human reason sees, are good;
And he offendeth not in word or deed;
But unbaptized he dies, and, void of faith,
Where is the justice that condemns him? Where
His blame, if he believeth not†?'"

And then, after seeing that the region of the angels is decked with such men, he hears this answer,—

"They quitted not their bodies, as thou deem'st,
Gentiles, but Christians; in firm-rooted faith
This, of the feet in future to be pierced;
That, of feet nail'd already to the cross.
The sacred stairs are sever'd; on this part are set
Such as in Christ, or e'er He came, believ'd;
On the other
All they who looked to Christ already come,
——— So Heaven's decree
Forecasts, this garden equally to fill
With faith in either view, past or to come‡."

It is the conclusion, then, of Catholic theologians, that some Pagans of old were saved by an implicit faith in the Saviour; or, as Collius says, they were divinely taught to believe that God would not be wanting to them in regard to their salvation; for from the beginning of the world the Gospel of the Messiah that was to come had begun to be preached, to which alludes the words of the Apocalypse, "Agnum occisum ab origine mundi;" because his precious death was signified from the beginning. Theologians suppose that this mystery was taught to Adam, who transmitted the knowledge of it to his descendants, as we read, that Abraham would prescribe to his sons and to his house after him. The Gentiles thus, as St. Thomas says, were saved by an

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* Id. lib. vi. c. 50.

† Par. 19.

‡ Par. 32.

implicit faith in the Redeemer, implying faith in God and in the things taught by Him indeterminately, whatever they might be*." So Dante again is directed to a soul in Paradise thus saved,—

> "He, through the riches of that grace,
> Which from so deep a fountain doth distil,
> As never eye created saw its rising,
> Placed all his love below on just and right;
> Wherefore, of grace, God oped in him the eye
> To the redemption of mankind to come,
> Wherein believing, he endured no more
> The filth of Paganism †."

When the orient from on high had risen over the forest of life, the Gentiles accordingly, as the world with amazement saw, were not slow to hail with gratitude its long-desired rays. How rich was the harvest from the Pagan youth when apostolic men began to gather into the Church, no one conversant with its early history needs to be reminded. Valerian was still a Pagan when St. Cæcilia addressed him with these moving words: "O dulcissime et amantissime juvenis, est mysterium quod tibi confiteor, si modo tu juratus asseras tota te illud observantia custodire." Cæcilia had already conquered him; and the first trophy of her victory was the heart of Valerian, offered for ever to the Saviour of men. Tiburcius was a young Pagan, and a few words from the spouse of his converted brother regenerated his soul, and won it for eternity. Thus we see that Paganism is not without great examples to prove that it could rise to the height of virtue, and direct others to escape with it to the realms of everlasting joy; though it does not follow that the modern philosophers, scoffing at Catholicity and professing to revere the system which it overthrew, ought to feel secure by citing the wisdom which ended in causing so many to burn and cast to the winds what they adore, and to adore what they would if they could destroy. But to return; innumerable are the ways, says Collius by which God might be pleased to convert the hearts of Pagan men unto himself. By angelic ministry, as Tostatus says, God converted some. Eustachius was a Pagan, converted by seeing a crucifix between the horns of a stag which he was hunting in the forest. St. Hubert was a Pagan, whom a similar vision led to demand baptism ‡. Polyeuctus was a Pagan soldier, to whom Christ appeared in a vision, which caused him to renounce idols and pass to truth; and St. Justin Martyr was a Pagan philosopher, converted by an angel under the form of an unknown old man, who told him that only in the school of the

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* iii. c. 3. † Par. 22. ‡ Lib. ii. 1.

Christians could truth be found. The rustics who beheld the angel attending St. Martin as he destroyed the idols were converted by that vision[*]; and the jailor of the prison in which were forty martyrs was converted by seeing angels distributing thirty-nine crowns amongst them. An angelic vision caused the conversion also of Dionysius and Callimachus, Pagan soldiers, as also of King Edwin, as the Venerable Bede relates[†]. Neanias was a Pagan youth in prison, loaded with irons; he saw a vision of angels, and he was converted to Christ. Other Pagans were converted by hearing voices in the air, which mode of illumination is expressly recognized by St. Augustin; and an example occurred during the persecution of Diocletian, when a Roman officer was so converted, as Metaphrastes records[‡]. Other Pagans have been converted by seeing Christ, or the blessed Virgin, or some martyr, as when St. Basilides and the learned Arnobius were converted by visions, and as when Abercius beheld Christ in a dream which caused him to renounce false gods[§]. An Indian prince beheld while sleeping the blessed Virgin, as represented in a picture given to him by Silvera, a Father Jesuit, and he was converted in consequence. Examples are found also of the ecstatic illumination of some Pagans. Such were the conversions of Golinduch and of Carina, as related by Nicephoras[||], occasioned by visions while in a state of insensibility different from sleep. Genesius also was converted by a vision of angels, while in the act of ridiculing the Christians on the stage[¶]. By an internal illumination others were led to truth, as Martialus while sleeping[**]. Others were guided to it by a consideration of truth as reflected in their own borrowed types; for, as a poet says,—

> "Though in the heathen's ceremonial
> Satanic foresight studded many a gem
> From prophecy's abundant treasury,
> Yet over this another's foresight ruled,
> And turned those gems, on Gentile men bestow'd
> As meed for worship done him, to a glass
> Wherein, though shattered, shone the love of God
> To wiser hearts[††]."

Tertullian, we know, proposed to the senate to interrogate the Pagan oracles as to the truth of the Christian religion, and these oracles converted many. Again, multitudes of Pagans were con-

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[*] Sulpit. i. 12.
[†] Lib. ii. Eccles. Hist.
[‡] Lib. ii. c. 7, 8.
[§] Lib. ii. c. 9.
[||] Lib. xviii. c. 25.
[¶] Lib. ii. c. 11.
[**] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. c. 8. Ap. ii. 12.
[††] Morris.

verted by miracles, as at the preaching of St. Columban and at the cures wrought by St. Martin[*]. In fine, as Tertullian observes, innumerable Gentiles were led to the truth of faith by the examples of Christian piety and charity, and the reading of pious books[†]. So Stathius in the Dantæan vision says to Virgil,

> ——— "O'er all the world,
> By messengers from heaven, the true belief
> Teemed now prolific ; and that word of thine
> Accordant to the new instruction chim'd.
> Induced by which agreement I was wont
> Resort to them."

Accordingly in that region of hope the poet finds,—

> ——— "The bard
> Of Pella, and the Teian, Agatho,
> Simonides, and many a Grecian else
> Ingarlanded with laurel[‡]."

Thus, then, are the signals pointing up the first avenue only confirmed on advancing to the second. But methinks we are still far from having heard an answer to the question respecting men of renowned names, to whom we are most commonly referred as to the representatives of Paganism, and from whose writings such proof can be collected of the accordance between the ancient philosophy and the holy faith. Where are they now? To their knowledge let us come. For some would still propose them as the securest guides for youth. Following still the same safe practised teacher, we shall learn that, notwithstanding all the accordance hitherto observed,—

> —— "He who seeks in these
> True wisdom finds her not ; or, by delusion
> Far worse, her false resemblance only meets
> An empty cloud."

If they before the Gospel lived, they served not God aright ; of their names in heavenly records there is therefore no memorial. It will be much to find them among the tribe who rest suspended,—

> "Into whose regions if thou then desire
> To pass, a spirit worthier than I
> Must lead thee."

" The profound abyss of error and of crime in which the most civilized nations of ancient heathenism had sunk and were lost becomes, as Frederick Schlegel says, the more apparent the

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[*] Lib. ii. 13. [†] Lib. ii. 16. [‡] Purg. 22.

more closely it is investigated and the more fully it is understood." The most celebrated names on earth may be precisely those of which there is least note where the true praise is won. The world was, in its day of peril dark, wont to believe that none could surpass in virtue and in wisdom Hermes, who however did only borrow from the holy Scriptures and then corrupt the extracts, daring with his darkness to affront that light, drawing also, it is believed by men who knew Paganism better than we can ever know it, from the demons who often bear witness to the truth. Collius accordingly cites the testimony of the holy fathers, St. Irenæus, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Augustin, to support his opinion of the eternal reprobation of this miserable king, priest, and philosopher [*]. Orpheus, after all his admirable lessons, instituted the worship of false gods, and sung things full of shame, labouring also under the pestilent influence of magical vanity. Theophilus of Antioch says, that he confessed three hundred and sixty gods in his life, but that when he came to die he rejected them, and asserted that there was only one God, which was a late and useless confession, as St. Clement of Alexandria says, speaking of him always as a master of idolatry, magician, follower of the demon, and a lost man [†]. Homer's knowledge of one God, and his turning into ridicule the false gods of Greece, seems, says Collius, to have availed nought to the eternal salvation of his soul, though Marcellina and her sect chose to venerate his image, placing it along with that of St. Paul; for, though not the author, he was a propagator of idolatry [‡]. We have before remarked how many things were taught by the seven sages that might seem to justify a hope of their eternal salvation; but Collius finds still more reason to confirm him in the opinion that their end was reprobation [§]; for, besides the crime of idolatry in which the seven were involved, many of them were guilty of flagitious deeds, as Periander, who wrote indeed precepts in two thousand verses, but whose lust and savage manners were most shameful; for he killed his wife in a transport of fury, and then burned his concubines who had excited him against her. Solon even persuaded the citizens to sacrifice Cirrhæa to Apollo; and Thales was so far from honouring the one true God, that he thought water was the cause of all things [‖]. "Quis poetarum, quis sophistarum," asks Tertullian, "qui non omnino de prophetarum fonte potaverit [¶]?" "Whatever was good in the doctrine and discipline of Pythagoras," says Collius, "was drawn from the Hebrew fountains [**]." Yet he despairs of his soul; for, though he knew there was only

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[*] De Animab. Pagan. lib. iii. 22.

[†] Coll. iv. 2.

[‡] Id. iv. c. 5.

[§] Id. iv. 12.

[‖] Id.

[¶] Apol. 47.

[**] Id. iv. 26.

one God, yet he venerated the altar of Apollo and offered vows to him; and he remarks, that it is after such researches that one learns to appreciate the force of those examples in the martyrologies of obscure men and women, youths and virgins, who died with such constancy rather than sacrifice to the gods whom all these sages of the world countenanced or adored. Heraclitus again seemed to claim a place among those who might be supposed eternally secure; yet he ascribed all things to fate, and exceeded other men in pride. Now, as Collius says, to be puffed up with pride, and to reduce theology to fatalism, cannot be to keep the law of nature. The magnanimity and constancy of Anaxagoras were great; but he bent his knees to the statues of false gods. The holy fathers, however, speak less despondingly of his state, observing that he was not guilty of notorious crimes; and Collius seems to regard his ultimate fate as admitting of some hope, supposing him to have been granted contrition at his death *.

But now still loftier figures pass before us. Let us observe how they are thought to have acquitted themselves. Some of the holy fathers seem inclined to admit the possibility of Socrates having obtained salvation. St. Justin Martyr, for instance, says, that by living conformably to reason before Christ men were members of Christ, and that Socrates therefore might be safe from all fear. St. John Chrysostom also intimates that he was delivered from the gates of death †; and St. Ambrose, in the second chapter of his book, De Bono Mortis, speaks as if he thought that he was happy after death. St. Catherine also seems of the same opinion; for after citing the words of the apostle, "Dicentes se sapientes esse stulti facti sunt," she adds, "not so severely, nevertheless ought these, I think, to be understood as to infer from them that all the philosophers had so fallen, that not one of them should have obtained salvation, and that all should have incurred the second and eternal death. This would seem too hard and bitter. Therefore this passage perhaps ought to be understood as referring only to the major part of them; for, with respect to Socrates and Plato, it may be right to hope better things than those which the apostle in this places objects generally to the philosophers." Tostatus supposes, without any doubt, that Socrates is in the company of the blessed ‡. Collius is struck with the act of forgiveness practised by him at his death, and seems to regard it as favouring the hope of his salvation §. Moreover, Eusebius Cæsariensis remarks, that no one ever saw him doing, or heard him saying, any thing impious or superstitious; yet the fact is, that Socrates offered sacrifices

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* Lib. v. 2.

† Hom. in Ps. 106.

‡ In Exod. cap. 30. Q. 14.

§ Id. v. 7.

to the gods of the nations, and throughout his life never combated openly for the one true God, in whose existence he believed. At his death, by ordering a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius, he at least gave occasion to Lactantius, and others of the fathers, to consider him guilty of idolatry to the last; though, it is true, Rodiginus defends him from this last charge, remarking that the ancients sacrificed this bird on their recovery, and that Socrates only meant to imply that death was a recovery*. Collius acquits Socrates from the charge of immorality, since there is direct evidence of his innocence; and that the accusation is founded on what itself admits of defence, since gratior sit pulchro veniens in corpore virtus. "Who," he asks, "will dare to condemn Socrates, qui cicutæ poculum dextera detinens etiam pulchro Critiæ cum capitali odio insectanti propinasse dicitur?" In such a moment it is impossible to suppose that his thoughts were evil. Moreover, the Athenians, after his death, did justice to his memory. "Whether we will or not," says Collius, "we must concede to Cardinal Bessarion, that Socrates was innocent of that offence; and though, in regard to all theological questions, I revere the sentences of Nazianzen, Cyrille, and Theodoret, yet I am not of opinion that I must not presume to differ from them in regard to their admission of the guilt of Socrates; for, since they produce no evidence, I cannot but subscribe to the contrary judgment of Plato, Xenophon, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre, Dion Chrysostom, Suidas, Lactantius, Augustin, and others, who are unanimous in declaring his innocence. Eusebius of Cæsarea supposes that the demon of Socrates was a good angel†. Collius, however, is inclined to agree rather with those who believe it to have been a demon in the proper evil sense of a rebellious and contumacious angel‡." St. Augustin points to the danger of Socrates, as arising from charges that are but too well substantiated; for he says, "cum de religione aliud publice astante populo, et aliud privatim cum alumnis suis agentem sensisse." Collius, upon the whole, fears that he passed hence obnoxious to eternal death§. His forgiveness of his accusers amounted but to this,—that he had no real cause to be angry with them, as they did not, in reality, injure him; though, for their intention to injure him, he had cause of anger. Not so Christ and the holy martyrs. "In their school," says Collius, "no such distinction is admitted; but, however great the injury they received, they forgave their persecutors; and the greater the malice the more fervently they prayed for their forgiveness. Generally,

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* Coelius Rodig. Antiq. Lectionum, lib. xvi. c. 12.

† De Præp. Evang. xiii. 7.

‡ Id. v. 14.

§ Id. v. c. xi.

therefore, respecting the eternal happiness of these Pagan philosophers, we hold," he adds, "that every one is free to have his opinion, if he can support it as probable; only we must reject, as rash, the positive assurance of Tostatus, that Socrates was saved*." Again, St. Catherine inclines to hope for the salvation of Plato; so does Ficinus, who, writing his history, entitles the chapter on his death, Reditus Platonis in Patriam Cælestem. Tostatus absolutely affirms it†. St. Justin Martyr, however, does not speak of him so as to warrant such security. "Plato," he says, "approved of the doctrine and discipline of Moses respecting one God, which he had learned in Ægypt; but, after the death of Socrates, he feared lest another Anytus or Melitus might rise up against himself, to accuse him before the Athenians, and therefore he composed a treatise on the gods‡; and Eusebius declares the truth, that after all his sublime contemplations Plato fell down and worshipped idols, conforming to the worship of the Athenian people§. Well might St. Jerome therefore say, Stultus Plato cum suis discipulis. Cardinal Bessarion, his most zealous advocate, admits that neither Plato nor Aristotle can be acquitted of the charge of idolatry: and therefore pari ratione alienus uterque est à religione Christiana. Collius, who admits that he would, on other grounds, find it impossible to come to any opinion as to the predominance of arguments, concludes that he can discover no ground for hope respecting the ultimate fate of Plato‖. Passing on to the Stagyrite, he shows that inquiries will lead to the same issue. The prayer of Aristotle at his death—Cause of causes, have mercy on me—was, if you will, sublime: but Collius seems to be still less successful in attempting to make his case appear favourable¶ to those who keep before their eyes the standard of the sanctuary. Was that vast intelligence directed to glorify the Creator? Aristotle held that happiness consists in the good of the body—health, strength, beauty, riches, glory, and nobility; so that no one to whom such things were wanting could be happy, according to him, as Tacianus Assyrius observes; and moreover, what is graver far, he held that the soul was dissolved with the body, contradicting thus the primeval tradition of mankind. Passing still among the sages, Collius shows that the virtues of Diogenes, if narrowly examined, were vices**; that Cato had moral but not divine virtues; and that he was involved in all the guilt of idolatry. In regard to his mode of death, St. Jerome only says that foolish philosophy has its

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[*] Id. v. xi.

[†] iv. Reg. c. v. Q. 21.

[‡] Just. Mart. Orat. Parænet. ad Gentes.

[§] Præp. Evang. xv. 8.

[‖] p. i. v. c. 24.

[¶] p. ii. lib. i. c. 2.

[**] Id. ii. lib. i. c. 5.

martyrs, such as Cato[*]. Cicero, before the judges, forgets all his philosophy, and treats the doctrine of punishment for the wicked in a future life as a silly fable, saying, "nisi forte ineptiis ac fabulis ducimur[†]." The primitive Church believed that Seneca had had much relation with St. Paul. Some of the fathers even call him Seneca noster. His style is full of biblical expressions, as Caro, Angelus, used in the scriptural and not classical sense; yet to hear him you would suppose that he had never heard either of the Fisherman or Paul; and, notwithstanding his sublime sentences, he held that the souls of men were like those of brutes, mortal, though he said that he wished to believe the contrary. No one mentions that Epictetus became at last a Christian. "And although," observes Collius, "negative arguments are not always of much value, yet in such a case, they seem to be sufficient to justify the conclusion that he died a Pagan and an infidel, benetted in the snares of the demon[‡]." Clearly his noble doctrines are all derived from the Old and New Testament, with a slight change of words. How deep, then, was his guilt, who, though attaining to the light of the Christian doctrine which in his time illumined and fructified the minds of such multitudes, preferred, nevertheless, to militate for the vanity of the Stoics, rather than under the standard of Christ[§]. In the guilt of the same ingratitude, Plotinus is no less involved. Porphyry relates, that after his death a serpent was found under his bed, which then glided into a hole of the wall and disappeared. This was the sweet friend, or demon, to whom he had dedicated a hymn, as his inseparable companion; and this is attested, not by an enemy, but by his own beloved disciple[‖]. Plutarch came to Rome about the year 79 of our era. That observation spoils the pleasure we should otherwise have derived from reading his beautiful moral treatises. Richard of St. Victor deems it certain that he borrowed expressly from our sacred books; at all events, the light of Christ had risen, and the sage turned from it. His calumnies against the Jews prove that his philosophy did not influence his life, and that he continued an unconverted Pagan to his death. Well might St. Bruno, then, upon the whole, lift up his warning voice to deter men from retracing steps with any of the most renowned sages. "The ancient world," he says, "has its rivers, which are deadly—the waters of the false philosophy form them. Fly these waters, O Christian, they are bitter and fatal. Turn from them to the rivers of the Holy Scriptures, which spring up to eternal life, and of which he who drinketh never more can thirst[¶]." In

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[*] Ap. id. ii. lib. i. c. 7.

[†] Pro Cluentio.

[‡] p. ii. lib. i. c. 21.

[§] p. ii. lib. i. c. 22.

[‖] Id. ii. i. c. 31.

[¶] S. Bruno de Novo Mundo.

fine, if we observe with the same attention the character of the heroes and illustrious men of action in the Gentile world, we shall find that Catholicism has broken the perfidious charm which held captive in their admiration so many generations,—

> "Adieu les héros Grecs ! leurs lauriers sont fanés.
> Vers d'autres orients nos regards sont tournés."

Not to delay with

> "Patroclus, Ajax, or Protesilaus,
> All heroes, who if living still would slay us,"

but proceeding to those least remote in the barbarism of the Pagan state, it may be doubted whether we shall even discover sufficient grounds to justify the opinion of a great Spanish writer, who thinks that the fault with them was not in the heart, but in the head; that what they wanted was the comprehension of the dignity of man—the high idea which Christianity has given to us. What they wanted, as Collius says, was charity, which alone produces virtues that open a road to the celestial country. Moral virtues were in many of the Pagans, but without charity*. Niebuhr says of Hannibal, whom he styles the greatest man of all ages, "This man I honour, esteem, and love, almost unconditionally; although I do not wish to deny that things are related of him which fill our eyes with tears." Such were the faults of the best Pagans. Perhaps what most claims favour is their extreme misery; perhaps the immense grief, at present hardly conceivable, of a Nicias and a Crassus, of a Pompey, a Cato of Utica and a Cicero, finding themselves, after their purest aspirations, plunged in mortal agony, in the hopeless bondage of an intelligence to which the path of spiritual beauty and enjoyment seemed for ever barred, has been weighed in the balance of that infinite compassion which belongs to Him who, after all, we must remember, loved the world before He died for it. As for hopes founded on their observance of the natural law, the confidence seems vain indeed; nor are contrary statements to be trusted. Dante, in the region of immortal hope, met him whose mighty worth moved Gregory to earn his noble conquest—Trajan, the emperor†. The poet follows an ambiguous narrative, which passed current with the people. It was said that Pope St. Gregory the Great, in the second year of his pontificate, passing in state from the Lateran Basilica to the Church of St. Peter, as he went by the forum, remarked a representation, in brass or marble, of the Emperor Trajan redressing the wrong of a widow, which produced such an effect on his mind, that he burst into

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* Lib. i. 6.

† Purg. 10.

tears, compassionating the fate of so just a ruler; that he wept or prayed to God that the soul of that emperor might be delivered from perishing eternally; and that his prayers were heard, with an injunction not to supplicate for any other Pagan. The Greeks believed this report, and introduced an allusion to it into their liturgy. St. Brigit and St. Mecthild are said to have received it without examining into its truth. It is related also by St. Damascene. Respecting the manner in which it was possible, St. Thomas of Aquin argues; and Saints John and Paul, the deacons and friends of St. Gregory, were said to have heard it from his own lips, and to have left it on record. Many noble theologians, and learned men, seem to have credited the story *—Hugo Æterianus, in 1177; Vincent of Beauvais †; St. Antoninus; St. Vincent, the Dominican; Bernardinus Corius; Joannes Viguerius; Sigebert Gottfroy, of Viterbo; Sixtus Senensis; Durandus; Richard de Media-Villa, and many others. Dante, therefore, had illustrious predecessors, in attaching some credit to it; but Collius argues that the narrative cannot be trusted. So held Dominicus Soto, Melchior Cano, Baronius, and Bellarmin. For the contemporary writers make no mention of that act of justice of Trajan to the widow; nor of its representation in Trajan's forum, though Marcellinus describes it ‡. Moreover, the morals of Trajan were infamous, as his admirer, Cassius, admits §; and he was a cruel persecutor of the Church. There is also want of agreement among the writers who mention the story ||. Nor are all allusions in the revelations of St. Bridget and St. Methild to be absolutely received as implying faith, though they are books generally no doubt divine. The testimony of the deacons John and Paul is not authentic ¶; such a prayer would be inconsistent with the known teaching of St. Gregory; and, if St. Thomas spoke of it, he only speculated, after the manner of the school, as to the manner in which it could have taken place.

Such, then, are the conclusions to which our guide—thus made pitiless, not to lose pity—leads us respecting the state of the Gentile philosophers and heroes, as if using the Dantæan words,—

> ——— "Let thy soul no more
> Afflict itself for them. Direct elsewhere
> Its thought, and leave them **."

This injunction the mediæval world, happily for itself, obeyed. Habent Moysen et prophetas—mark these words, says St.

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* Vol. II. p. ii. lib. ii. c. 17.

† Spec. Hist. x. 48.

‡ Vol. II. p. ii. 18.

§ Lib. 8, in Traj.

|| Vol. II. p. ii. c. 20.

¶ Vol. II. ii. c. 23.

** Inf. 29.

Anthony of Padua—Moses and the prophets, not Cicero and Quintilian; or Seneca and Aristotle*. Ambrosius Anthpertus, in the year 777, abbot of St. Vincent, at Vulturnum, and the preceptor of Charlemagne, expresses the same sentiment in the beginning of one of his works:—"Nihil mihi Plato, nihil Cicero, nihil Homerus, nihil Virgilius, nihil Donatus, nihil Pompejus, nihil Servius, nihil Sergius, nihil Priscianus contulit; sed, si quid fortasse habere videor, hoc de horreo dominicæ prædicationis a Christo accepisse me fateor, non quod mihi et eorum scientia fuerit denegata, sed quo plus delectatus sim verbis humillimi piscatoris, quam superbissimi oratoris, plus divinis intenderim quam humanis eloquiis†." Confessions of this kind, it is true, will be now regarded by men less familiar with classical antiquity than were the writers they condemn, as proof of a benighted age; but not even during the insane ardour of admiration for the Pagan learning, which ushered in Protestantism, would they have been despised. It is curious to find the son of Poggius maintaining that Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquin, Gilles of Colonna, and John Scot, were not inferior to the Pythagorases, Zenos, Chrysippuses, and Aristotles of antiquity. Truly he might say so; though how miserable do such concessions appear to a true philosopher, who takes a comprehensive view of the whole of Paganism, supported by all these worthies of Plutarch! What civilized nation did they ever form? "Not one," replies a great Spanish statesman; "for the Greeks and Romans," he continues, "were not civilized, they were cultivated; which is a very different thing. Cultivation is the varnish, and nothing but the varnish, of civilization. Catholicism civilizes the world, and by three means—by making authority a thing inviolable; by making obedience a thing holy; by making self-renouncement, or rather charity, a thing divine‡." But this road must not detain us any longer.

Thus, then, to cast a retrospective glance, on leaving it, at the lessons which it has yielded, does Paganism, in its truths and in its errors, in its aspirations and in its misery, present a pale but most remarkable signal, pointing, like the phantom of a departed world, to the divine reality of the Catholic religion. Paganism, in the forest of life, seems left,—

"Even as a giant oak, which heaven's fierce flame
Had scathed in the wilderness, to stand
A monument of fadeless ruin there;
Yet peacefully and movelessly it braves
The midnight conflict of the wintry storm.

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* Fer. V. Hebd. ii. in Quad.

† Bibl. Pat. tom. ix.

‡ Donoso Cortes.

As in the sun-light's calm it spreads
Its worn and withered arms on high,
To meet the quiet of a summer's noon."

This phantasmal monument of wandering benighted human thoughts—grand and beauteous if you will, but death-like—seems to utter a solemn voice to warn those who pass from resting underneath its pernicious shadé, which kills those who feed only on what grows within it, saying to them,—

" O human spirit ! haste thee to the goal
Where faith proclaims a universal peace ;"

and amidst the ebb and flow of human things, where thou canst discover nothing stable, nothing permanent, find in the centre that which makes all truth certain, all virtue meritorious, sorrow expiatory, and pleasure everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROAD OF HISTORIANS.

At this new bending of the road of life, seeking to cull the sweets that memory ever more doth plant upon its sides, we come to a still more solemn part of the forest, like that into which one, whose name is familiar to the readers of romance, used to retire, where he would disappear for long intervals amidst some old ruined vaults, that resembled more a tomb than the vestiges of a habitation for the living.

" By a lone wall a lonelier column wears
A grey and grief-worn aspect of old days :
'Tis the last remnant of the wreck of years,
And looks as with the wild-bewilder'd gaze
Of one, to stone converted by amaze,
Yet still with consciousness ; and there it stands
Making a marvel that it not decays."

Thus does the natural forest contain scenes analogous to the studies of those from whom the present road derives its title. Pliny says that there is even an herb which seems to have their taste ; for he speaks of one which grows chiefly near old monu-

ments, ruined walls, and the broken spots of long-deserted roads*. Besides, the trees themselves, as every one knows, are often historical. Those, including whole families which yield fruit, are associated in a remarkable manner with the history of the human race; and others, like the great chestnut at Tortworth, in Gloucestershire—which in the year 1150 was styled the great old chestnut tree, being stated, by tradition, to date from the days of Saxon Egbert—have individually a character of antiquity, which suggests to every one who beholds them that they are themselves certain mute historians. How much could be told, for instance, by that Castagno de cento cavalli, which is even marked in an old map of Sicily, and which in all the maps of Etna makes so conspicuous a figure! It now seems to be not one tree, but five large trees growing together; but all these were once united in one stem, as the grandfathers of this generation of men beheld it, when it was looked upon as the glory of the forest, and visited from all quarters, so that now it is only a majestic ruin,—

——— "Venerabile dicam
Lucorum senium?"

In the new forest there are oaks that chronicle upon their furrowed trunks ages before the conquest. Chaucer's oak, said to have been planted by the poet, was till lately a most stately tree. In the woods of Garenden and Gracedieu, dear to the stranger from their connexion with the friend of his youth, there are oaks that have seen England when it was a Catholic kingdom. The trees and roads in the forests of Fontainebleau and St. Germain direct us by their names to past times. There we pass the oak of Charlemagne, the oak of Clovis, the oak of Queen Blanche, the oaks of Henry IV. and of Sully, the rendezvous of St. Hérem, the star of Lamballe, the alley of Richelieu. Indeed, those who have written descriptions of these forests have generally found themselves drawn on to give, in the same book, a history of the French monarchy. By the ruins, then, we mount, winding up a steep ascent, till, emerging from the dark wood, we come to a green summit, crowning savage rocks. It is a spot formed for that solitary delight which men of study love; wild shrubs grow from the crevices of the rocks beneath, and the high trees of pine and mountain ash afford still a pleasing shade. The silence of the scene is interrupted only by the breeze, as it rolls over the woods, and by the solitary notes of the birds that inhabit the sides of the surrounding rocks. Here, at our feet, the whole immensity of the forest lies stretched

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* N. H. xxv. 49.

in dark magnificence; we can distinguish at once each region, associated with some passage in the history of past times, as old traditions tell; and we can trace each great leading road that finds its termination at the centre, which is the first spot that our eyes search for; so that the visible scene may suggest the especial course that ought to be adopted on the present road, on which we should always start from the moral centre, as Aristotle recommends; for, in his treatise on memory, he says, "that in general it is from the centre of things that we should set out, as the mind can thence proceed best in one direction or in another."

The road of historians, leading thus at first over lofty eminences, commands necessarily, from the nature of things, a view of the truth of the Catholic religion; "since," as Butler says, "it is obvious that Christianity, and the proof of it, are both historical—even natural religion being properly a matter of fact;" and, as Savonarola says, "if you will not believe the historical evidence of the Christian faith, you will believe nothing—neither books nor histories, nor the instruments of notaries; and there will be no faith left, and all human conversation will perish*." Who must not be struck, when entering on this road, with the great historical facts of the peaceful introduction of Catholicism—with its hierarchy and its worship, with its doctrines and its symbols, and even its discipline, the same as at present—into every country of the old world that forms part of Christendom? Is there no direction, from the evidence of history, that this faith was first preached in England, Germany, and America, by monks; first preached in Lyons in the year 160, by St. Pothin; that the first bishops of Toulouse, Arles, Narbonne, Clermont, Limoges, Tours, and Paris, teaching the same doctrines as are professed by Catholics at the present days, date, at the very latest, from the third century, while some would ascribe to them a higher antiquity? As in its rise, so in its progress and development, the Catholic religion being historical, the road of historians necessarily presents an avenue through which we can distinguish the Church from every association that lays claim to possess or to participate in its privileges. "Christianity," as Troplong observes, "did not take full possession of civil society till the middle ages, when the old races had been refreshed by the mixture of new men. Before then, it had rather negotiated and transacted with the world than ruled with dominion†." The road of historians enables us to view these successive stages of the influence of faith, and prevents us from wandering astray, and missing the centre, by mistaking a natural and

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* Savon. de Veritate Fidei Christianæ, lib. ii.

† De l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil.

necessary development for corruption and abuse. It shows us the Church—

"Creating festivals of majesty
And obligation diverse, as she deems,
Instinct with heavenly guidance, that the needs
Of alter'd times new vehicles require
For truths neglected, or for growing store
Of friends in Paradise*."

It leads us necessarily, if we follow it with perseverance, to that religion, which, as the English Catholics said in their petition to James I., "is venerable for antiquity, majestic for its amplitude, irreprehensible for its doctrine, inciting to all sorts of virtues, and dissuading from all vices and sins—to that religion which was preached by all the ancient doctors, maintained by the first and best Christian emperors, celebrated by all ecclesiastical historians, watered with the blood of millions of martyrs, adorned with the virtues of as many confessors, conformable to reason and to the text of the word of God†." Those who follow this road, therefore, ought to be the first to say with St. Augustin, "that we can never err if we hold in our hands the clue which is attached to the Catholic Church. Tenentes ergo Ecclesiam, quæ dilatatur per omnes gentes, non figmentum sequimur humanum, sed promissum factumque divinum‡." For those, above all, who come from the far country, where Catholicism has long been legally renounced, the road of historians is fraught with lessons of supreme interest. At every step they hear its voice repeating, "I have some rights of memory in this kingdom;" and, when reproved for proclaiming their discoveries, in words like those of the third Richard,—

"Harp not on that string, that is pass'd;"

their farthest limits of compliance will only dictate such an answer as—

"Farewell! thou canst not teach me to forget."

"O,—si primâ repetens ab origine pergam,
Et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum,
Ante diem clauso componet vesper Olympo§."

Yes, this is indeed that straight and even way to reach the beatitude which dwells with truth, of which we may say, in Virgil's words,—

"Perge modo, et qua te ducit via dirige gressum."

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* Morris.
† Pierre Mathieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vi.
‡ S. Aug. cont. Gaudent. ii. 25.
§ Æn. i. 372.

Therefore, in past times, every human study was thought subordinate to history. "What is writing?" asks Pepin, the son of Charlemagne. Alcuin replies, "It is the guardian of history." From the unknown author of the book of virtues and vices, or Magister Historiarum, noticed in the catalogue of the Depying priory, in Lincolnshire, to the learned and accomplished William of Malmsbury, all were impressed with an especial reverence for history; which, as the latter says, "by a certain agreeable recapitulation of past events excites its readers, by example, to frame their lives to the pursuit of good, or to aversion from evil." During ages when divine faith was extended farthest, even the historians of the Gentile world were studied with more interest than they are at the present day. Valerius Maximus was then, perhaps, more familiar to the European nations than he ever was to his contemporaries. Niebuhr says that it was then considered the most important book next to the Bible. Livy, as a man amans virtutum, osor vitiorum *, was as much respected as when persons used to come from the farthest parts of Spain and Gaul for the sole purpose of seeing him †. It was not forgotten that Caligula had wished to destroy his history with the poems of Virgil, that his own vices might not be contrasted with the virtues they describe. It was not the monks who called Livy verbose, from impatience at so long a history; nor did they object to his Patavinity, like Asinius Pollio. When his body was discovered, in 1413, in the monastery of St. Justin, at Padua, which had been the temple of Juno, in digging the foundation for a new tower, the spot being known to the monks by tradition, the whole city flocked to behold it, with such reverence, that some holy men were fearful lest they exceeded what was lawful. Rolandus, the monk, however, gave it up to the nobles of the city, who carried it on their shoulders to the forum. The names of each bearer are recorded by Tomasinus. In 1451, Alphonso, king of Aragon, obtained the bone of the arm with which he wrote his history, and removed it, with honours, to Naples, where it was placed in an urn. Under his effigy were inscribed these lines:—

> "Cura tibi Historia est; per te quoque mortua vivunt:
> Stant sua virtuti præmia, pœna malo ‡."

"The memory of heroic virtue and of high deeds," says a Catholic historian of Spain, "is a great and inestimable thing. From history, as from a fountain, kings and magistrates may learn humanity, clemency, justice, prudence, and to preserve

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* Balthazar Bonifacius de Scriptoribus Rom. Historiæ.

† Plin. lib. ii. ep. 3. S. Hieron. ad Paulinum.

‡ Tit. Liv. Tomasini, 38.

inviolable faith with others. Nothing is more useful, more necessary, than history; for men can use it not only in regard to public, but also to private life, since it contains examples of all actions*." Christian annals were not merely written, studied, and treasured up as a sacred deposit, their substance was rendered familiar to all classes of a Catholic population; for at all epochs, since the life in catacombs, Catholicism exclaims,—

> "The good and mighty of departed ages
> Are in their graves: the innocent and free,
> Heroes and poets, and prevailing sages,
> Who leave the virtue of their majesty
> To adorn and clothe this naked world. And we
> Are like to them——Such perish, but they leave
> All hope, or love, or truth, or liberty,
> Whose forms their mighty spirits could conceive
> To be a rule and law to ages that survive."

Truly, as Caxton says, "great thanks, laud, and honour ought to be given unto the clerks, poets, and historiographs, that have written many noble books of wisdom of the lives, passions, and miracles of holy saints, of histories of noble and famous acts." The road of historians, if men will not obstinately throw themselves into the pit-falls on each side, becomes one of the safest of all roads that lead to the Catholic Church—it becomes the road of heaven; and all the ancient guides proclaim it to be such, saying, with Cassiodorus, "Futuræ beatitudinis mores, vitas patrum, confessiones fidelium, passiones martyrum legite constanter, vitæ sanctæ imitatio nos provocans ad cælestia regna perducat. Amen †." This road, then, presents, from the very first steps we take upon it, a wide avenue to the centre, for the reason already alleged, that Catholicism is historical, not a succession of individual speculations—a fact, not a theory. "And," as Balmes observes, "it is at present of the utmost importance, when speaking of the benefits resulting to the world from the Christian religion, to distinguish between Christianity (which is often a mere word on the tongue of men ignorant of the past) and Catholicism, which is its sole legitimate form, to show that what has regenerated mankind was not a mere idea, thrown into the midst of others which disputed for the preference, but an aggregate of truths transmitted by means of a society divinely instituted ‡." Now, when following this road of history, men cannot remain ignorant of the existence of this society; they cannot but perceive—for I will not take into account men obstinately blind to facts—that the Catholic Church

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* Siculus, de Rebus Hispaniæ Prolog.

† Div. Lect. c. 42.

‡ Ch. 27.

in their own times, in communion with the Holy See, is the same as it was once in the age of St. Irenæus, St. Ambrose, St. Bernard, and such as it was once in England, in the days of Venerable Bede, and Edward the Confessor, imparting spiritual life, as the holy spouse of that bridegroom who renders new what is ancient, and ancient what is new, as Pope St. Pius V. said in his brief to the English Catholics. Such considerations have led, in every age, men versed in history to the Church; and there they learned to understand much that was before inexplicable to them. How should they, then, doubt, when things to come were theirs, and how much more were bygone things? Vita mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita. Catholics, in regard to history, are the true living; and varied reminiscences have waked in them tablets that never fade. No other men are competent to treat on the history of Christian ages; and then how associated with proofs of the truth of Catholicism become all their thoughts! how many things, corresponding with the signals upon this road, are placed in, what St. Augustin terms, the immense hall of their memory! A certain sublime horror seizes upon them when they penetrate into that profound infinite multiplicity of images, all proclaiming truth—" tanta vis est memoriæ, tanta vitæ vis est in homine vivente mortaliter*." Then, if moved by local sympathy, they salute upon this road, with joyful acclamations, either the monarchy of St. Louis, the Spain of the Cid, the old heroic German empire, the golden age of the Scandinavian kingdoms, or, as a recent author says, the apparition of the old England, that admirable and holy state, inhabited by an illustrious people; they behold it again in all the majesty of its ancient wisdom. An historian is sometimes actually startled by the proof he meets with of the exact identity of the religion of these long past ages, so full of every noble image to inspire admiration, and that of Catholics living around him. No miracle can exceed such a long-continued, exact, and extended concordance. Take an instance, only, of what regards discipline, which is changeable. " When the hour came for him to make the profession of faith, which consists in certain words committed to memory, and which those who are received recite in an elevated place, in presence of the faithful, the priests proposed that he should recite them in private, according to the custom, when persons are likely to be intimidated by a public assembly; but he preferred professing his faith in presence of the holy multitude; for, as he had professed eloquence publicly without the doctrine of salvation, he thought that he ought not to fear to pronounce Thy word, O God, before the humble flock, as he had felt no diffidence in presence formerly of the insane auditors

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* Conf. x. 17.

of science." Is this extracted from a Catholic journal of the present day? Nay, it is the account given by St. Augustin of Victorinus being received into the Church in Rome*. Certainly, looking even no further back than the middle ages, a most profound impression is produced by seeing the dead brought back thus to life. Within the Church, all that they used is serviceable still; and used as they used it. Open, for example, the work of William of Paris on the seven sacraments. Without changing a letter, you might suppose that it was just drawn up to be used as a class-book in schools at the present day. Yet he only followed earlier guides, who had received what they transmitted from the fathers. "You have proposed," he says, "certain questions; et, quemadmodum à meis antecessoribus et à sacris doctoribus didici, pro meo modulo cum Dei adjutorio respondebo †."

Thus we ascertain upon this road the fact of the constant transmission of truth, and of the identity of present Catholicism with the past, prompting us to say,—

> "The ancient spirit is not dead:
> Old times, thought I, are breathing here;"

or, as Robert d'Arbriselle observes of the ancients and contemporaries, "Nec eos damno, sed nec neotericos respuo. Quælibet ætas in suo sensu abundat ‡." And accordingly look around you through the Catholic world, and see how Truth's deathless voice pauses among mankind. What grace that shines in history is not still flourishing in some who still mingle with the crowd? Do we not witness things powerful to araise St. Louis, nay, to give great Charlemagne a pen in his hand to praise them? The line inscribed on the triumphal arch erected in Rome on the victory of Lepanto,—

> "Adhuc viget virtus, flagrat amor, pollet pietas,—"

would not be inapplicable if set up to commemorate contemporary events at present. To how many living pontiffs, and even senators, might the words of the Roman orator be applied, "Nam homines quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quemdam ex annalium memoria, aut etiam de cœlo divinum hominem, esse in provinciam delapsum putent." Some appear to be insensible to the good and greatness that survive around them; but their habit of mind is in great part owing to their ignorance of past times. On the road of historians they would learn to ap-

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* Conf. viii. 2.

† Guill. Paris de Sacramentis.

‡ Rob. Arboricens. Opus quadripartitum super Compescend. Hæret. Petulant.

preciate the present, and to recognize the truth of Catholicity from the permanence of its power. This impression is described by a French traveller when visiting the church of St. Francis at Assisi. "Quite recently," he says, "a subterraneous nave has been added to the two upper churches which existed before. The first aspect of this architecture, without any style, which is thus placed under the mediæval edifices which are so characteristic, is disagreeable; but, when they tell you that the body of St. Francis was found in 1818—when they invite you to touch the piece of rock which has been left, in order to show what pains it cost to build a church under two other churches, you begin to feel a certain respect for this latest manifestation of the power which, after having accomplished such great things, has achieved also this prodigious work. The permanence of this old spirit strikes you the more in consequence of its being produced under modern forms. You exclaim, What! the same sentiment which has raised the old walls, covered with paintings of Giotto and Cimabue, which dictated the verses of Dante—this sentiment is powerful enough at the present day to dig out mountains and pierce rocks, as in the time of the catacombs! No Gothic or Norman architecture, venerable by its antique simplicity, would have caused me to feel so profoundly the religious power of Catholicism as these mean columns and this insignificant architecture. What prodigious vitality is in faith*!" But what if the past be thought to present no such images? How then, you ask, can it reflect light on such contemporary things? True, the character of ancient times has been described differently, in the same manner as the works of faith in our age have been ignored; but when the modern speculator, pretending to represent truth, attempts to deny the unbroken continuity of this chain, and says to lovers of the mediæval monuments, standing retired amidst them marking scrolls, you vainly hope to win favour for times of obscurity,—

"Meque sub his tenebris nimium vidisse quereris †,—"

the traveller on this road is not less secure because a man blind or drunken offers to be his guide. "Veteris non inscius ævi," or, as Homer styles Telemachus, πολύμυθον, he only smiles at his invitation, feeling assured that these ages contained in rich abundance what seems in our time most admirable; that they were even, as Guillaume de Saint-Thierry says, "ages of gold, since illustrious men, who had been rich and honoured in the world, gloried in the poverty of Jesus Christ, and planted churches with their blood." Fame, if not double-faced, is double-

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* D'Ampère, Voyage Dantesque.

† Met. iii. 9.

mouthed, and with contrary blast proclaims most deeds. So it is given out that the truths of the Gospel were then unknown, and thus the whole ear of England is, by a forged process, rankly abused. But, to use old Roman words, "ingens ista reputantem subit etiam antiquitatis rubor [*]." He who takes this road is soon conducted to more accurate views of past events, and may express his historical conviction in the words of the poet,—

——— "Unius ob iram
Prodimur [†]."

Then, with St. Thomas of Villanova, who witnessed the rise of the new opinions, he will say, "O miserable degeneracy of our time! the smallest fabric of virtue is magnified by those who have no knowledge of the splendid temples of the Holy Ghost which were seen in former times; for so it happens with us as at the rebuilding of the temple of Solomon. The juniors who did not see the former rejoiced; while the old men, who saw how dissimilar were the ancient and the new temples, lamented bitterly, and esteemed the latter as nothing in comparison [‡]." It was with such views that the illustrious John Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, a confessor of the faith in exile at Venice, composed his great history of Sweden, dedicating it to Eric, John, and Charles, the sons of the Lutheran tyrant who had caused the desolation and ruin of his country by robbing it of its faith, to whom he recalled, in a simple but a noble and sublime style, the piety of the bishops and sovereigns, and of the population of the ancient Catholic Sweden; for, says a recent historian, "he hoped that the comparison would make them feel how deplorable was the actual situation of the country since it had renounced Catholicism and incurred the malediction of Heaven [§]." But, in regard to every nation in the mediæval records, the man who takes this road with sincerity finds all he would admire,—

——— "Et singula lætus
Exquiritque auditque virûm monumenta priorum [||]."

So far from yielding to the clamour of those who would depreciate the great unambitious heroes of our religious history, he will deem it the highest praise of his contemporaries, who shine most illustrious, to say that they fall short only of such models, adding with the ancient humility,—

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[*] Plin. xxxvi. 1.
[†] Æn. i. 251.
[‡] De S. Nicholao Serm. ii.
[§] Theiner, la Suède et le Saint-Siége, tom. i.
[||] Æn. viii. 311.

Ἀνδράσι δὲ προτέροισιν ἐριζέμεν οὐκ ἐθελήσω [*].

He will cite in allusion to them the words of the Roman naturalist, "Crescit profecto apud me certe tractatu ipso admiratio antiquitatis [†]." If you speak of faith and all its blessed fruits, he will repeat what Cicero says, speaking of the virtue of Regulus, "Illud nobis nunc mirabile videtur, illis quidem temporibus aliter facere non poterat. Itaque ista laus non est hominis, sed temporum." If, like the stranger once, he should discover some solitary and constant man, like the freedman of Pompey, seeking for some relics that can be kindled into fire, in order, as it were, to pay funeral honour to these ages, lying deserted on the shore of time, like a poor naked body on the beach, he will approach, and with the old Roman say to him, "Come, thou shalt not have quite alone to thyself this honour; and I pray thee to receive me for thy companion in a labour so holy and so divine." Thus is he guided to the centre, while marking those who would obstruct all access to it on this road, by treating with dispraise the glorious and holy memories of the past! All his reply to them will be still in the old style that our youth admired, "Heu mores! Fabricii nos pudet [‡]." Heu mores! Visit Spain, Germany, and France; you will find men ashamed of the Cid, ashamed of Charlemagne, ashamed of St. Louis! To dwell for an instant only on the results of the sophists teaching in the Peninsula, though it is a premeditated exaggeration to say that "ancient Spain has completely disappeared without leaving a trace behind;" there is certainly direction to the truth of Catholicity when a traveller, not ignorant of history, remarks, that the Spaniards, who are either indifferent or hostile in regard to faith, take offence if a stranger speaks of them in a poetical manner of their past greatness, that they pretend they are calumniated by all those who have written thus on Spain. Yes, calumniated—that they disown and renounce with all their strength the Spain of the Romancero, and that one of their chief pretensions is to be neither poetical nor picturesque, which, as far as they are concerned, may be but too well justified [§].

There is no road better than that of historians to enable a man to escape from the thoughts of such a generation. Who will not press forward to the Catholic Church, when if for a moment turned from it he beholds, wherever faith exists not, as one endeavouring to awaken his countrymen affirms, "a society without courage, without doctrines, without hopes, without grandeur, without union, without a symbol, without a past, without a present, without a future?" Who will not re-echo the desire of

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[*] viii. 223.

[†] Plin. N. H. xxvii. 1.

[‡] Plin. Id. xxxiii. 54.

[§] Gautier, Voyage en Espagne.

St. Bruno, when, alluding to the winged mystic form which was full of eyes, he said, "I wish that we also might have wings to fly, and eyes before and behind, by which in a straight course we might come to God. We shall have eyes before if we follow the royal way, flying the evil or holding the good; and we shall have eyes behind, if, mindful of the ancient fathers, we endeavour to imitate their lives and holy conversation, having in mind the Ancient of Days *." But, further, if this road of historians leads to an appreciation of the antiquity of Catholicism, of the constant transmission of truth, and of the great moral results of its predominance in past times, it may conduct men with no less facility to a recognition of the novelty and nullity of the religious antagonism which began to be opposed to it in the sixteenth century. Truth is before error: as Stapleton says, "We do not read that the bad seed was sown first, and that then came one who sowed good seed †." The assertions of the Arian poet, about "many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church," are soon estimated on this road at their just value; though it may be granted that, as he says, "it was at Wickliffe's preaching all the succeeding reformers lighted their tapers." "Most certain it is," will all the empty or ill-crammed heads that follow him repeat, "that ever since their coming to the see of Canterbury, as all our stories bear witness (for near twelve hundred years, to speak of priests in general), they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides; to our purses and goods a wasteful band of robbers, a perpetual havoc and rapine; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion: this is the trophy of their antiquity and boasted succession through so many ages." But the road of historians, calmly and dispassionately trodden, soon conducts impartial men to see in such assertions only an evidence of the bitter root of falsehood, that must belong to a system which sought to support itself by such misrepresentations. There may be syrens still, who seek to arrest the incautious wanderer by professing to know all things, and to have the facts of past times as the basis of their song. Hear us, they repeat,—

Ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ
Ἀργεῖοι, Τρῶές τε, Θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν·
Ἴδμεν δ᾽ ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ ‡.

Different bands divided into hostile sections may then, in every

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* S. Brun. de Novo Mundo.

† T. Stapleton, Promptuarium Catholicum, 45.

‡ xii. 189.

form, seek to obscure the central truth, like some at present, ill matching words and deeds long past or late; but, to him who has taken any steps upon this road, their whole theologico-historic system is strange and unimaginable, as would be after hell's first fruits were gathered, hate in heaven and war amidst the peace of God in bliss. The song proclaims its own fatuity,

"Dominique coarguit aures*."

History shows that Protestantism, as Frederick Schlegel says in his work on the Philosophy of History, was the work of man, appearing as it does in no other light, even in the history which its own disciples have drawn of its origin. History shows Protestantism as having been a grand deception, an immense misleading of the intelligence. It promised purity and prosperity; and the result was corruption, and a succession, not yet terminated, of social catastrophes. That it was an evil choice, was to its victims some time a paradox; but now the time gives it proof. If you look to the doctrinal development, what think you? Have you beheld, or have you read or heard, or could you think, or do you almost think, although you see, aught so illogical if allied with truth, or aught so portentous if dispensing with it? If you look to the political and social consequences, what nation of Europe can study its own history without finding passages that stand like warning beacons, giving signal to fly from heresy with all the speed of thought? On the road of history men of the old honour do not want theologians to point out the way. When they see on one side, as in France, base and bloody insurrections, assassinations by poisoned bullets, churches in flames, monasteries pillaged, and, as in England, the most disgusting hypocrisy yoked with an injustice that makes the barbarism of savages appear amiable, they have no occasion to open books of controversy, or listen to sermons, in order to ascertain whether the company on this side is fit for them. As seen in history, these new Scævolas, with admirals befriending them—these virgin queens, who write to "Henry le Meurtrier," a few days after he has assassinated the two brothers, asking for the papers of his victim, and saying, that they "prize above all things in this world his friendship†"—these founders and destroyers of state churches, supreme heads, lord protectors, Architofel ministers, and reformers of all ranks, lighting their tapers at the preaching of the new gospel, are the best guides that any one can desire: for there can be no mistake if one only follows the old banner opposed to their colours, which from the first might have been that hideous red, at sight of which the world now,

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* Met. xi. 7.

† Letter to Henri III., Janvier 1589.

through servilely servile fear, turns pale and trembles. In regard to the study of political wisdom, this road leads to the conclusion of Balmes, that before the false reform European civilization had attained to its full development—that the false reform, instead of aiding, misdirected the cause of civilization, and brought a chain of evils to the world; and that, whatever real progress may have been made since its rise, was not "propter hoc," owing to it, but effected in spite of it, and owing to principles subversive of its claim. To take but one instance of its avowed tendency, Protestantism, from its cradle, sided with that opposition which in the person of Frederic II. at one time called in the aid of Saracens to war against Christian states. If that emperor sent an ambassador in disguise to the sultan, to warn him of the preparations of St. Louis against Egypt, as Mathieu Paris acknowledges; if, as Pope Gregory complained, he constructed with Christian houses the walls of Babylon, and transferred the edifices where worship was rendered to the divine name into places where Mahomet the man of perdition was adored, the preachers and chiefs of the reform avowed their preference of the crescent to the Catholic symbol. Better a thousand times the Turks than the mass, were Luther's words, dissuading the princes of Germany from arming against the advance of the Mussulmen. To this very hour those who follow his banner avow similar sentiments. "What do you mean," says one lately deputed to unfurl it in Spain, "by asserting that the Moors know not God? There is no people in the world who entertain sublimer notions of the uncreated eternal God than the Moors; and no people have ever shown themselves more zealous for his honour and glory. Their very zeal for the glory of God has been and is the chief obstacle to their becoming Christians. They will not recognize that He ever condescended to become man*." Is it to such envoys that civilization is indebted? Is Catholicism to be discountenanced for saying, with a monk of the middle ages, that Mahomet's law began with the sword, and is maintained by the sword; that this Mahomet was an ignorant man, as he acknowledged himself in the Alcoran; that he only preached what the apostate and heretical monk, Sergius, dictated to him; and that, as he was a powerful chieftain, he imposed his law upon the Arabs; that, luxurious and warlike, he gave a law of impurity and vanity, good for men who live after the flesh, and who have nothing in view but pleasure; and that, instead of resting, like the gospel, on truth and purity, his superstition has no support but from worldly fear and sensual pleasures†? All this, of course, would now be pronounced vulgar and unphilosophical;

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* The Bible in Spain, ch. lvii.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1248.

but to which of these two views is Europe most indebted? If, again, we look to the moral results of Protestantism, innumerable facts are presented, as if signals set up on the road of history guiding us on to the Catholic Church. Henry VIII., Christiern, the landgrave of Hesse, Albert of Prussia—what men if compared with a Maximilian, a Charles V., a Ferdinand II., a Duke Albert of Bavaria! "How superior," cries Theiner, "even if we only regard their private virtues as Christians, were the princes and men who remained faithful to the Church to those who embraced what was called the Reformation *." Thus, then, already in a twofold manner does the road of historians conduct to faith, by showing the constant transmission of the same truths from the beginning of the Church, the happy results of their diffusion, and the vanity of the pretensions of its enemies.

It would require too long delay to observe how history, which, Frederick Schlegel says, constitutes a fourth revelation of God, corroborates Catholic theology like Scripture, like the book of nature, and the voice of conscience, and opens avenues to the Church by showing the consequences of its distinctive doctrines, as also by yielding evidence of a new order drawn from facts to confirm those doctrines. Some of these openings, however, must be noticed. In the first place, generally, history teaches, in a most impressive manner, him conversant with it the vanity of human wishes, and consequently the importance, in order to secure durable felicity, of that religion which alone teaches, in conformity with such convictions, "perituras mundi calcare delicias, et in amplexu crucis omnia nobis adversantia superare."

"Instructed by the antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise."

William of Rishanger, the monk of Ramsey, speaks in his chronicle as if the reading of history was the same as devout study; for he says, "It is an illaudible custom with some to despise written chronicles and books of history, computing all things frivolous and false. Let them mark the admonition, 'Quicquid salubrius est, quicquid te magis commendat Deo, et ad majorem devotionem excitat, id meditare, id exerce, id exequi studeas semper et amplecti.' History gives occasion for blessed meditation, which is followed by fruitful contrition of heart, fixing the eye of the mind on the light of supernal contemplation, which mostly happens when one recalls to memory with what momentary vanity nobility and all the power of mortals perish. From this remembrance the mind of the reader is

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* Theiner, la Suède et le S. Siége, i. 162.

excited to the love of the heavenly country. Therefore we have deemed it right to transmit the knowledge of these melancholy events of our time to our posterity. But these calamities are to be endured with cheerfulness, 'Absit ne fidelis quisque, qui Deum videre desiderat, de mundi percussionibus lugeat; qui eisdem suis percussionibus finire non ignorat*.'" Jornandes, in the preface to Vigilius, which he prefixes to his work, De Temporum Successione, speaks of history as a school to teach the love of God. "I address this work to you," he says, "quatenus diversarum gentium calamitate comperta, ab omni ærumna liberum te fieri cupias, et ad Deum convertas, qui est vera libertas. Legens ergo utrosque libellos, scito quod diligenti mundum semper necessitas imminet. Tu vero ausculta Joannem apostolum, qui ait, Carissimi, nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quæ in mundo sunt; quia mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus. Qui autem fecerit voluntatem Dei manet in æternum. Estoque toto corde diligens Deum et proximum, ut adimpleas legem, et ores pro me, nobilissime et magnifice frater." In fact, history, like Catholic theology, must inspire solemn thoughts, because it so quickly conducts us from the cradle to the grave of each worthy whose life it records. Nothing shows better the folly of ambition, and of all that is not in some manner capable of becoming a holy ascent to God by faith. On the one hand, again, history teaches men to respect religious institutions, as when the Cardinal objects to violate the rights of sanctuary, and Buckingham reproves him, saying, "You are, my lord, too ceremonious and traditional." On the other, it prepares men for refuting objections against the reception of truth, drawn from such customs as Catholicity reproves. History would repeat St. Cyprian's words, when some would now invoke custom, and profess to follow what they term, by a misnomer, old England, "Vetustas consuetudinis, vetustas erroris est; itaque relicto errore sequamur veritatem. Deus enim via est et veritas, non consuetudo. Your ancestors, by the abuse of the age, left the right road. Why do you not try to regain it? This right road is called canal in the last canon of the council of Sardique, ἐν τῷ καναλίῳ, to show that it is in a right line." Again, we come upon the road of history to an elevation whence we clearly discern that human events are ruled, as Catholicism teaches, against the fatalists by the especial providence of God. Men without faith pass along, repeating words of discouragement like those the poet utters,—

> "Necessity, whose sightless strength for ever,
> Evil with evil, good with good, must wind
> In bands of union, which no power may sever,
> They must bring forth their kind, and be divided never."

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* Chronic. Prol.

The guides of what is termed public opinion, setting down chronological limits to each virtue, seem therefore to suppose that men can escape from the infamy attached to the deeds they love by calling every act of honour and justice opposed to them an anachronism, as if whatever is ought to be, and whatever is past ought never to be again. Undoubtedly this is an old error. According to St. Ambrose, Aristotle held that the providence of God descends as low as the Moon, but not lower *. Some, following Vico, ascribe indeed to a Providence the government of the world; but, on the other hand, they make the liberty of man to disappear; so that it is not a true providence, but fatality alone, which determines human events. Others, with Lessing, see in the course of ages only the action of human reason, always, as they say, in progress, always perfectible without ever attaining to perfection. Catholicism pronounces such views to be false; and all the literature inspired by it cries out with Calderon, "Though destiny may know all ways, it is not Christian to say that men cannot escape from its power." Again, "Vivo ego, quia consilium meum stabit et omnis voluntas mea fiet." History awfully unfolds the solemn accomplishment of these divine words. History confirms what Rupertus says, "that nothing is without cause under the sun; that the world proceeds not without the providence of God; that from his mouth issues good and evil—evil, when the world is justly afflicted for its deserts; and good, when it enjoys prosperity. Deservedly," adds the holy abbot, "is he unknown who thinks otherwise. Of him it is said, 'Quis est iste?' as if God said, 'I know not who he is; let him depart from me, I know him not †.'" History too rejects him as incompetent; and the judgment even of the world, sooner or later, acquiesces in its justice. He saw not God in history; his works are nothing. "Væ tacentibus de te," says St. Augustin, "quoniam loquaces muti sunt ‡." It is the remark of Niebuhr, that "history on a hundred occasions shows an intelligence, distinct from nature, which conducts and determines those things which seem to us accidental; and that history is of all other kinds of knowledge the one which most decidedly leads to a belief in a divine Providence, showing that circumstances which are called accidental combine in such a wonderful way with others to produce certain results, that men evidently cannot do what they please."

Many modern historians, unconsciously of the family of Arius, Nestorius, and Pelagius, deny not the personality, or the divine action in man, although they disbelieve the divine influence of Christ in the history of his Church. But history yields proof

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* Lib. i. Off. c. x.

† De Victoria Verbi Dei, lib. viii. 32.

‡ Confess. i. 4.

of what St. Augustin says,—"nihil fieri sensibiliter et visibiliter quod non de interiore aula illius Imperatoris, aut non jubeatur, aut non permittatur*." History, therefore, comes to the assistance of each man in regard to the events of his own life, leading him to the joy which wells from Catholicity; for, as Sarasa observes, "it is an immense source of joyfulness to be convinced that all things are ordained by God wisely, and to a good end; and therefore, that without attempting to understand the reasons of events, we ought to acquiesce in them†." History may be said to demonstrate the truth of what the schoolmen teach in regard to the government of the world; for they say that, "since the will of God is the universal cause of all things, it is impossible that the divine will should not be accomplished. Therefore, whatever seems to escape from the dominion of the divine will, according to one order, falls back under it, according to another; as the sinner, who, as far as in him lies, departs from the divine will by sinning, falls again into the order of the divine will while he is punished by his justice‡." St. Augustin pursues these views in reference also to what our Lord suffered in his own person; for he says, "Patiebatur hæc omnia qui apparebat homo, et ipse idem hæc omnia faciebat qui latebat Deus." "There is no creature, whether it remains in truth giving glory to God, or not standing in truth, seeking its own glory—there is, I repeat it," continues St. Augustin, "no creature, whether it wills or wills not, which does not serve the divine providence§." Nemo leges Omnipotentis evadit; sed aliud est facere quod lex jubet, aliud pati quod jubet||. History proves the positive fulfilment of these laws. It shows us also, that to a certain extent events are made to correspond with ages in the world's course; that, as the poet says, God gave his angels—

——— "several charge,
As sorted best with present things."

For, as St. Augustin says, "divine Providence, moderating all things in a beautiful manner, governs all the series of generations from Adam to the end of the world, as if determining the course of one man from youth to old age¶." But history reveals also the extraordinary providence which rules and determines all things according to the Catholic view, at each successive step of the progress of the world as of the man. "The dissension which is inherent in human nature forms," says Schlegel, "the

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* Tract vi. lib. 3, de Trinit. c. 4.

† Ars semper gaudendi, tract. iv.

‡ S. Thom. p. 1, Q. 19, art. 6.

§ St. August. Expos. Ep. ad Galat. iv.

|| De Agone Christi, xvii.

¶ De Quest. 83, Q. 53.

basis of all history;" the key to unlock its secrets is the Catholic catechism. "In consequence of the fall," says a great Spanish statesman, "man decides on revolting against God, and on being free; and the result, in every period of the world, is a natural triumph of evil, and a supernatural triumph of God over evil, by means of a direct, personal, and sovereign action. So it was in the events of the deluge and of the crucifixion of the Messiah; and so it will be at the end of the world, when Antichrist, master of the universe, will be overthrown with the last catastrophe, and the final judgment. Such is for me," he concludes, "the philosophy, and all the philosophy, of history*." History thus teaches what the Church proclaims to the human race—the justice of God; and, in fine, what should make all rejoice in trembling—the victory of God. History attests that, if supreme justice waits and delays, it strikes, sooner or later, the impenitent. Lift up your heads, and regard the sky through this opening of the wood, and you will see an image of his providence; for—

"Some clouds sweep on as vultures for their prey,
While others, fix'd as rocks, await the word
At which their wrathful vials shall be pour'd."

Men grow impatient when they see the prosperity of those who transgress the law of God, and the affliction of those who guard it. But St. Augustin thus reproves them:—"Diebus tuis paucis vis impleri omnia? Quæ omnia? ut damnentur omnes impii et coronentur omnes pii? Impleat ea Deus in tempore suo†." "It will be asked," says Salvian, "if the world be thus governed by God, why is the condition of the barbarians so much better than ours? why are the good prostrate, and the evil prosperous? It might be sufficient to answer, I know not; for I have not the secret of the Deity. But we know that God does so govern the world; for it is perfect reason to hold to the sacred Scriptures‡." There is a holier judge than man, a more unblamed avenger. Innocence, justice, truth, are all wronged and outraged upon earth; and—

"I'll not believe but such ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle sleeping peace."

History declares, demonstrates it to be so; and even the Roman historian acknowledged it, saying, "Sic humana consilia castigantur, ubi se cælestibus præferunt§;" and again, "Lento gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira; tarditatemque supplici gravitate compensat." History, written with simplicity

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* Don Donoso Cortès, Marquis of Valdegamas.

† In Ps. xix.

‡ De Gub. Dei, lib. iii. 1.

§ Val. Max. i.

and truth, is a picture of the justice of Heaven. Oh, what a solemn avenue does it form to the Catholic Church, which is seen through it, standing with majestic loftiness, cloud-capt at the summit, like the Virginal mountain, that rises solitary over every other elevation. When our thoughts take this turn, to contemplate the mysterious regions in which Catholicism ends, it might be said that one is more inclined to fall prostrate than to advance, if it were not that every act of adoration is itself a step forward to the felicity of truth. History attests the mysterious judgments which fall upon those who set at nought Christ's holy spouse, and profane her sacraments! It shows how nations and dynasties, and men of perverse will in every class, fall into the pits they dig for her. The holy and inoffensive priests of England were put to death for treason, under the Tudors and under the Stuarts, who thought thereby to consolidate their power for all future ages; and in a few years where were to be found the Tudors and the Stuarts? How soon after did a different kind of treason, bloody and unnatural, shatter to pieces that most wretched throne, and scatter the generation of those who preferred it to the sparing of innocent blood? In earlier times, too, were not wanting traces of this retributive judgment in regard to persecutors of the Church. William Maréchal, earl of Pembroke, dying suddenly, the king, Henry III., who loved him, on seing the body covered with a pall, exclaimed with a sigh, "Woe, woe to me! The blood of the blessed martyr Thomas is not yet avenged[*]!" "Oh, what vengeance," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, "do we see upon sinners! how terrible, how appropriate! But wretched men consider it not, and think that it all happens by chance; but to those who have eyes the judgments of God are visible[†]." The ancient historians had eyes, and recognized these judgments, in the least as well as in the greatest calamities. Charegisilus was a breaker of testaments; "and his end," said St. Gregory of Tours, "was, not to have his own will fulfilled in dying, who had so often nullified the wills of others[‡]." Would you, on a great historic scale, mark how wisest God draws to one point the threads of a just doom, so sanctifying it? Then hear Salvian:—"It is not strange that there are destructions and burning of cities. We feel at length, though much later than we deserved, the effects of our deeds; and, according to the sacred words, we eat of the labour of our hands, by a just judgment of God, paying what we owe[§]; for, excepting a very few servants of

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[*] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1231.

[†] Fer. vi. post 1 Dom. Quad.

[‡] S. Greg. Tur. Hist. lib. iv. 51.

[§] De Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. 9.

God, what was the whole of Africa but one house of vice? The words of the prophet, "Argento et auro implesti thesauros tuos, à multitudine negotiationis implesti promptuaria tua," might be applied to Africa. For where were there greater treasures? where was there greater commerce? where greater abundance of wealth? Yet in a moment a fire hath arisen in the midst of it, which has devoured it all. Perditio," he says, "factus es, et non eris amplius in æternum*. The Goths are perfidious, but chaste; the French liars, but hospitable; the Saxons cruel, but of wonderful chastity; in Africa alone there was vice without one virtue†. Was not its impurity alone sufficient to cause the overthrow of Africa? was not the whole state one sink of iniquity? adeo omnia penè compita, omnes vias, aut quasi foveæ libidinum interciderant, aut quasi retia prætexebant; ut etiam qui ab hac re penitus abhorrerent, tamen vitare vix possent‡. And we, who are so impure, wonder that we are miserable? we wonder if we are conquered by men who conquer us in virtue? we wonder if they possess our goods who execrate our vices? It is not the natural strength of bodies which makes them conquer; but it is by our vices that we are overcome§." Thus history proclaims the justice of the government of the world; and it is no less audible in bearing witness to that victory of the word of God, recorded and predicted by the Catholic Church, to expose which one of the most remarkable works of the middle ages was expressly written. The very title of that history is significative; for how could a Protestant write a book de Victoria Verbi Dei, since, according to his opinions, the Church, that is the word of God, failed, and its enemy, the devil, conquered? The Catholic can propose such a history, and write it, and feel the high triumph which Rupertus so majestically describes. "You said to me," he writes, in the introduction to this great work, "'write for me a book de Victoria Verbi Dei.' Truly, a difficult theme to treat worthily; for it is a great victory, and a great God who conquers; a great enemy who is conquered, and a great combat. However, I consented; and I only pray that the result may be profitable to you for having suggested, to me for obeying, and to others for reading, the work. The combat of the word of God is with that great red dragon, the ancient serpent, called the Devil and Satan, or the adversary, the seducer of the whole world, who, though he constantly opposes, rebels, and fights, yet cannot avert the counsels of God. Between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent there has been a combat from the beginning, as there will be till the end of the world. This constitutes the

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* Id. vii. 14.

† Id. vii. 15.

‡ Id. vii. 17.

§ Id. vii. 23.

wars of the Lord—mali pugnant accusando, boni pugnant defendendo, judice Deo*." Viewed under this divine light, the whole signification of human events becomes practical, though mysterious; consolatory, though profoundly solemn; "for every son who is slain for the sake of the blessed seed, which is Christ, wishes," says Rupertus, "to be counted as Joseph; and every mother who weeps for such a son, as Rachel. Every one knows that the contest in which he must take his share, more or less, will continue, with greater or less violence, till the consummation; but that the will of God must prevail, and the word of God conquer, and the Church of God be glorified for eternal ages." History, in fact, reveals the Catholic Church, ever assailed by all kinds of enemies, exposed to perils on all sides; at intervals so involved that she is compared to the moon, for she too increases and wanes, being often diminished, and again increased†, but sure to proceed according to the fiat of Almighty God, revolving on her appointed path, and to surmount, with an unconquerable patience, every obstacle opposed to her immortal destiny. History bears witness that every thing else, after a short time, fades and disappears, to return no more, and be thought of no more. Its solemn voice, as when the monk of St. Alban's says, "while the course of these days measured in passing the life of mortals," proclaims that castles, cities, and great empires, with all their civilization, are ephemeral as man. "Tempus est mora rerum mutabilium," says Pope Innocent III‡. The road of historians leads through regions where what Pliny fancifully says of the solitudes of Africa is really witnessed, where is met with a kind of men who in a moment vanish§. History reconstructs the ruins which lie scattered through the forest of the world, in order to make deeper the impression of the lesson which they yield, of the mutability of all things but the Catholic Church. See within this forest how many—

——— "Chiefless castles breathing stern farewells
From grey but leafy walls, where ruin greenly dwells.
And there they stand, as stands a lofty mind,
Worn, but unstooping to the baser crowd,
All tenantless, save to the crannying wind,
Or holding dark communion with the cloud.
There was a day when they were young and proud,
Banner on high, and battles pass'd below;
But they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
And the bleak battlements shall bear no future blow."

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* Id. ix. 5.

† S. Maxim. Taurin. Hom. iii.

‡ De Contempt. Mundi, x.

§ Plin. N. H. lib. vii.

Travellers through the forests of America describe the cave of Ataruipe, under a far over-hanging cliff, in a densely-wooded valley, which is the vault or cemetery of an extinct nation; for there was the melancholy refuge and dwelling-place in which the distressed and brave tribe of the Atures finally perished, and with them even their language. Here are found all that remains from them—their bones. History proclaims the ceaseless revolution of things, returning, only in quite another form, if they do return, as the poet says,—

*ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς πάντ' ἀναστρέφει πάλιν**.

Carthage now is a dead city, whose grave is scarcely discernible. For cities die; kingdoms die; a little sand and grass covers all that was once lofty in them and glorious; and the name sometimes only survives in the Catholic pontiff who rules a distant church, where the same religion that was preached to them continues to be taught to the generations that have forgotten them. Mark how the Gentile is struck with earthly mutability. "Megalopolis," says Pausanias, "presents only ruins now. I wonder not. Nothing can resist fortune. What remains of Mycenes, which, in the time of the siege of Troy, commanded all Greece? and of Nineveh, once the capital of the Assyrians? and of Thebes, in Bœotia, which was once looked up to by all Greece? Witness, again, Thebes in Egypt; Orchomena in the country of the Minyens; and Delos, once so flourishing with commerce—what are they now? The walls and the temples of Belus are all that remain of Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun could behold in its course. Tyrinthia, in Argia, has had the same fate. Thus human things are only for a time, and there is nothing durable upon earth†."

The Christian historian is not content with such a vague conclusion from these impressive facts. So Henry of Huntingdon, struck at the total perishing of the Picts and of their language, says, "Cui non comparet amorem cælestium, et horrorem terrestrium, si cogitet non solum reges eorum, et principes, et populum deperiise, verum etiam stirpem omnem et linguam, et mentionem simul defecisse; etsi de aliis mirum non esset, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter cæteras Deus ab exordio linguarum instituit mirandum videtur‡." Languages, therefore, even pass away thus, and blind oblivion swallows cities up, and mighty states, characterless, are grated to dusty nothing. In the domain of mind, in regard to systems, opinions, and all thoughts but those

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* Suppl. 331.

† lib. viii.

‡ Hist. lib. i. fol. 171.

of Catholicity,—

"It is the same! for, be it joy or sorrow,
The path of its departure still is free;
Man's yesterday may ne'er be like his morrow,
Nought may endure but mutability."

So Spenser says,—

"What man that sees the ever-whirling wheel
Of change, the which all mortal things doth sway,
But that thereby doth find and plainly feele
How mutability in them doth play
Her cruel sports to many men's decay?
O piteous worke of Mutabilitie!
By which we all are subject to that curse,
And death, instead of life, have sucked from our nurse."

"Ego Deus et non mutor"—God alone is unchangeable with his councils; but the Catholic Church, which springs from them, participates in their duration, and presents a world where all time and place are present. History therefore repeats the poet's lesson, and says,—

"Think then at last
Upon the pillars of eternity,
That is contrary to Mutabilitie,
For all that moveth doth in change delight;
But in divine faith all rest eternally
With Him that is the God of Sabaoth hight.
Oh! that great Sabaoth God, grant us that Sabbath's sight."

The road of historians again presents an avenue to the Catholic Church by means of the great venerable names which it recalls, and of the lofty examples of heroic virtue through which it makes men pass. In general, the men who recognized not the truth of the Catholic Church, and who designedly imposed obstacles in the way of others, might have been described in the quaint words of the old French proverb, saying, "Au reguard des lettres, d'humanités et congnoissance des anticques histoires ils en estoyent chargés comme crapault de plumes *." In general, too, those who were furnished with some historic knowledge durst not take advantage of the facilities arising from it; for it was in some countries as at Athens, when an edict was published, forbidding under pain of death any one to speak of regaining Salamis. Catholic histories were published with a preface that might have reminded their readers of the feigned madness of Solon, on that occasion when, to escape the penalty and discharge his duty to truth, he had recourse to the device of saying, as if in a fit of imbecility, "Why can I not be native of some other country, to

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* Le Roux de Lincy.

escape the shame of hearing, 'Look, here is one of the Athenians who have abandoned Salamis.'" So Challoner published his martyrology, only "as a supplement to English history, that might give pleasure to men of all persuasions who desire to read the lives and deaths even of the most notorious malefactors, presenting it without any pretension to make panegyrics of any of them, or to act the apologist, but only narrating as an historian." Without such precautions to inspire confidence, no one would have ventured to print or read his volume; and indeed the road of history in another sense was too dangerous for any men to take who sought that the ancient faith and virtue should never revive: for long generations have much to tell of these; and there would never be wanting men to give Cicero's advice to Domitius, "Quæ didicisti, quæque ab adolescentia pulcherrimè à sapientissimis viris tradita, memoria et scientia comprehendisti—iis hoc tempore utare*." The new maxims of life dispensed with true history. No one said, "Interrogate de semitis antiquis quæ sit via bona;" for instinctively all knew that these ancient ways were thronged with saints of the Catholic Church; and that their only answer to every youth who should interrogate them would be, Seek your ancient mother. One voice re-echoes along this solemn way, proclaiming the glory of each saint, as in the old hymn which tells of St. Nicholas,—

"Cleri patrem et patronum
Nicolaum prædicet,
Læte promens vocis sonum
Clerus et magnificet;

Se cor promptum, se cor pronum
Sono vocis ampliet,
Græcus omnis et Latinus
Lingua, tribus, natio,

Orbis terræ maris sinus,
Sexus et conditio,
Hospes, civis, peregrinus
Pari psallat studio†."

The moderns thought to have dispeopled heaven. History heeded not such clamours, knowing so much bounty is in God, such grace, that those who advance his glory, not their own, them he himself to glory will advance, proving that virtue, though obscured on earth, not less survives all mortal change in lasting loveliness; and that to point out the restoration in man of the lost image of God in the various periods of the world, which is what the lives of the saints effect, constitutes, as Fre-

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* Ep. vi. 23.

† D. Gueranger, L'Année Liturgique.

derick Schlegel says, the very object of the philosophy of history. For those who take this road all knowledge of the past revives; the events of old and wondrous times which dim tradition teaches are unfolded—those tranquil glories, venerable names,—

"Multi præterea quos fama obscura recondit."

The heroes of Catholicism, whose tapers yet burn through the night of time, present themselves as ever-living guides,—

——— "Prisca fides facto, sed fama perennis."

Joining then their hands and hearts, the past becomes a grave which gives not up its dead to evil thoughts that madly call it a nonentity. The remembrance of the just is for ever.

"What silent still? and silent all?
Ah! no;—the voices of the dead
Sound like a distant torrent's fall,
And answer that his day will come,
'Tis but the living who are dumb."

Zeno, having inquired from the oracle to know what was the best kind of life to embrace, received answer, it was that which would cause him to converse with the dead. He applied therefore to study history. But what history is now the most impressive?

——— "Laudas
Fortunam et mores antiquæ plebis."

The Roman of old thought that the names alone of Scipio and Marcellus were like an eternal triumph*; but in the unfailing consciences of men, those stern, unflattering chroniclers, there is a victory more blameless, a glory more secure than theirs. "Who," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, "is able to express how much profit each of the saints has conferred upon mankind? Truly the example and life of one saint have been more useful to the world than all the vast collections of books commemorating the glories of antiquity." On this road the saints return to us in holy histories, in venerable rituals, in solemn painting, in time-worn monuments, in grey mouldering tombs, which all seem to say in the Dantæan style, "I will report the truth, which thou again tell to the living. Ah, when thou to the crowd shall be returned, and rested after thy long road, then remember who were found faithful."

Must we then but weep o'er days more blessed? must we but

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* Val. Max. ii.

blush? No, the road of historians leads us to recognize, as we remarked in the beginning, the Catholic Church as possessing an inexhaustible source of faith and sanctity, and to feel assured that the present times do still witness, and that the future will continue to behold, the same virtues which made admirable the past,—

"Great things have been, and are, and will still
Want little of mere mortals but their will."

History shows what manners flowed from faith. Then, as Baptist the Mantuan sings,—

"Fac redeat mos iste; simul collapsa redibunt
Priscorum decreta patrum: sanctissima vitæ
Disciplina. Velut pratum, quod temperat unda
Opportuna, feret frugum incrementa bonarum [*]."

Let each man recall the lustrous images of Catholic history, and, as when Medea spoke to herself of virtue, it will be no phantasmal effect that will ensue,—

"Dixit; et ante oculos rectum, pietasque, pudorque,
Constiterant, et victa dabat jam terga Cupido [†]."

For the road of historians can lead many to possess the graces which they read of, and so unfold still more plainly before them by a personal experience the divine truth and efficacy of the religion from which springs whatever they admire most. "In every history," says St. Gertrude, "that a person reads, he should study to discover whether the virtues and vices that he finds in other men are discernible in himself [‡];" and, accordingly we find, that the saints expressly followed examples that are found in history. Adolphus, who was an eye-witness of the charities of the blessed Margaret of Bavaria, duchess of Lorraine, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, says, "that often she would have been unable to endure the disgust of tending the wounds of the sick poor, if she had not called to mind how Catherine of Sienna conquered that temptation; and that, after the death of her husband, Duke Charles, she founded the hospital of Eneil for the poor, saying, that she wished to serve our Lord in his sick members, precisely as St. Elizabeth had done [§]."

"The best thing," says Goethe, "which history can give us, is the enthusiasm which it can inspire in the heart."

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[*] Exhortat. ad Insubres.

[†] Ovid, Met. vii. 2.

[‡] Insin. Div. Pietat. &c. lib. iii. c. 75.

[§] Raderus, Bavaria Sancta, iii. 164.

"The man of abject soul in vain
Shall walk the Marathonian plain,
Or thread the shadowy gloom
That still invests the guardian pass
Where stood sublime Leonidas,
Devoted to the tomb."

Catholicism prepares men for deriving this advantage from history. It causes the blood to run cold when noble actions are related. Those whose minds are formed by it listen to the past, as Desdemona heard Othello, or as Ferdinand and Isabella attended to Columbus, when he pointed out the wide scope offered to Christian zeal in the discovery of a new world. "When Columbus ceased," says the historian, "the king and queen, together with all present, prostrated themselves on their knees in grateful thanksgivings." "Let the bard cease," cries Alcinous, observing Ulysses weep,—

οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι χαριζόμενος τάδ' ἀείδει*.

Oh, rather let me hear again the strain! those tears are precious as the gems that angels gather. If they have faith as Catholics, men on the road of history can feel for others as for themselves, and lament a foreign calamity with as much poignant grief as was occasioned by hearing once the Tu Marcellus eris, which caused Octavia, when Virgil read it for the first time in her presence to Augustus, to fall like a corpse upon the ground. Most men admire virtue who follow not her lore; but Catholicity combines the enthusiasm with a solid and practical result, causing men to imitate what they admire, what they adore. Not from a vain heart rise those devoted strains which every year commemorate the supreme event of history! Do you mark those words,—

> "Fac me vere tecum flere, crucifixo condolere donec ego vixero.
> Juata crucem tecum stare, te libenter sociare in planctu desidero.
> Fac me plagis vulnerari, cruce hac inebriari ob amorem Filii."

"Catholicism," as Dom Guéranger remarks, "is the inexhaustible source of the highest and most noble sensibility which it is given to man to experience in this world. It is this tenderness which produces within its bosom every day so many acts of devotion—which causes without any effort so many generous sacrifices, and maintains that ardent and pure enthusiasm which separated sects have never known. Take for example," he continues, "Clement

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* viii. 538.

VIII., that austere old man, who resisted during two years Henry IV., triumphant at Paris, a pontiff inheriting the energy of his most courageous predecessors. See him moved to the bottom of his soul at the news of the discovery of the relics of a Christian martyr of the third century; see him proceeding to venerate those secular bones, watering them with his tears of joy, and esteeming their translation one of the great events of his pontificate. Such a spectacle is incomprehensible for those who are not initiated in the Catholic faith; but nothing can enable us to perceive better the supreme morality of the Church, always inspired with that fervent enthusiasm for those who have practised virtue, which the lapse of ages, instead of diminishing, only renders more affecting and more profound *."

On the road of history, if we do not fix our regards upon the central light, we can only catch a glimpse of some one spot in the glorious firmament of truth and goodness; but the glimpse of one spot can effect with a sensible impression our very blood, and cause our hearts to vibrate as with the sounds of eternity. At one moment it is the fame of great achievements, the names of illustrious men even in the ancient world; at another, it is some sublime passage in the history of the Church or in the annals of Christian heroism. At this instant it is the inventions of holy genius, the wonders of the Catholic art, at that it is the constancy of the martyrs, or the devoted zeal of blessed men to work immortal charitable deeds; but still it is only one point which can be comprised within our view, and while enjoying it all the rest must be forgotten; "for in the mind are parts of things," as St. Augustin says, "which are not all co-existing at once, but by departing and succeeding they produce the aggregate of which they are parts, in the same manner as our discourse can never exist in totality; but one word must pass away in order that another may succeed to it †." Only by looking forward to the sun-like effulgence of Catholicism, comprehending all that gives light around us, can we in a certain sense anticipate the joy reserved for those above, and in some manner behold, at one and the same moment, the universality of glory.

But, if Catholicism be thus pre-eminently favourable to the enthusiasm which is produced by history, it is no less supreme in its influence upon events themselves, so as through them to supply it with the best and most wholesome nourishment. It occasions histories to be written full of high themes, yet very different from those which are begun with records how cities were burned and destroyed, as when Ulysses tells of the winds bearing him from Troy to the Ciconians, adding,—

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* Hist. de S. Cécile.

† Conf. iv. 10.

—— *ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς* *,

and it leaves men wholly without excuse who would affirm, like an infidel historian of the present day, that nothing glitters in history but blood †. The road of historians presents an avenue to the Church by admiration for the peaceful as well as for the heroic glories of Catholicism in former times. Democritus used to say, that we should demand from the gods to be presented with favourable images, good in themselves and analogous to our nature. The craving for such themes can prove how admirably adapted to the nature of man is the noble wisdom of the Catholic religion, so rich and illustrious in history, so profound in philosophy, so surpassing all unassisted human strength in its creative genius.

On the statue erected to Cato the senate represented neither his military exploits nor his magnificent triumph, but only placed these words beneath it—" To the honour of Cato, for having restored ancient manners, the decline of which had endangered the republic." How many such statues might have been found along the road of Christian history, since the Church exists only by a succession of moral restorations, if worldly honours had been accorded to those who were most instrumental in carrying on the work of grace? They would have stood to commemorate those saints who truly alone, of all men, as Cicero might say, " videntur re docuisse, non verbis, quid oporteret à præstantissimis viris in republica fieri, et quid necesse esset ‡." The road of historians necessarily leads to familiarity with the great figures that mark the course of faith throughout the world ; for, as Niebuhr says, " these should be recommended to every one, not merely to theologians, on account of their importance in ecclesiastical history, but to scholars also, who should devote more attention to the Fathers than they do, and follow the example of Scaliger, Hemsterhuys, and Valckenaer. An historian," he adds, " cannot see his way clearly in these times, unless he reads such writers as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Athenagoras." The Virgilian question, " Does any one direct the boy on the paths of ancient virtue ?" might naturally recall the lives of holy men whom Catholicity has canonized. Plutarch begins his life of Paulus Emilius with a remark that ought to shame those who would think differently ; for he says, " It was for the utility of others that I commenced to write the lives of illustrious men ; and it is for my own advantage that I now continue them. The study of this history is to me the same as living with them. I seem thus to give them hospitality in my house, and to fix them there. O gods, what greater

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* ix. 40. † Lamartine. ‡ Pro S. Sextio.

pleasure for man, and what can be more efficacious for the reform of our manners?" The chapter of Fréjus, concluding the praises of St. Paulinus, and forming the same just estimate of the object of history, makes the substitution which truth requires; for, say these holy men, " As the father of a family, desiring to paint his house, seeks for forms and images to serve as models for the painter, who thence may transfer, with a learned hand, the beauty and dignity of living persons, so God, this true father of our common family, in order to paint his house, that is, to adorn your souls in his Church, seems to have furnished us with the deeds of Paulinus, that his image may be transferred, as it were, to our hearts. Thus, let each of us endeavour to copy his graces as so many harmonious colours—the white of purity; the paleness of abstinence; the rose of spiritual modesty; and the golden hues of faith; that in this manner the Church of God may be adorned, and, as it were, painted with living images of virtue."

The road of historians leads to the new world which St. Bruno speaks of, in which old things are passed away and all things are made new. That world is the Church, having for new clouds the apostolic men that rain on the evil and on the good. It shows how miserable is the land which is not watered by such showers; like wretched Judea, of which it was written, " Mandabo nubibus meis ne pluant super eam imbrem." Those following it discover that, through the whole earth, men inspired by heaven fly like clouds, raining down, fructifying the whole world, calling to faith, emitting the lightning of miracles; for James and John are therefore called "sons of thunder *." They find, from following the road of history, that the saints were more illustrious than the heroes of Plutarch, and that the Catholic thoughts are best. " Domine, Deus meus es tu," they repeat with the prophet, " exaltabo te quoniam fecisti mirabilia, cogitationes antiquas fideles, amen †." Do you seek heroic achievements? Do you seek the poet who transmits their memory? Where will you be satisfied if not in Catholic annals, and in the high songs connected with them, of Catholics of old? What has antiquity more impressive, for instance, than that cradle of the Spanish monarchy in the cavern of Covalonga? Follow down that great stream, and say, Do the images of the immortal Gonzalves, of Ferdinand Cortez, of the conqueror of Lepanto, of Garcilazo, Herrera, Ercilla, Luis de Leon, Lope de Vega, Calderon, inspire you with no desire to follow them? Would you, as Balmes demands, seek to separate, by the abyss which Protestantism digs, your religion from their faith? your manners from their manners? And mark what an

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* De Novo Mundo.

† Isai. xxv.

interest history adds to every thing belonging to the Catholic Church. We desire to visit places that have been visited before by those whom we love and revere. History then convinces us that through these paths of devotion and holy practices all the great and loving spirits of every Christian age and country have passed. On these ideas were their great minds fed and nourished; by these very words were their hearts kindled; and so by means of associations the enthusiasm inspired by history extends to our conception of all the rites and formulas, images and practices of piety which Catholicism transmits from age to age, rendered thus, if possible, by the lapse of time, to every generation more intellectual to the understanding and more precious and venerable to the heart.

He who follows this road can say, "I have imbibed, in relation even to theological truth, a lesson not to be unlearned. I know the past, which demonstrates its power; and thence I can glean warnings for the future, which depends upon its greater or less extension." History proves that it is the Catholic Church which has saved society—saved those who became in any way associated with its course, as when St. Paul was assured that there should be no loss of any who were with him—"Ne timeas, Paule, Cæsari te oportet assistere; et, ecce, donavit tibi Deus omnes qui navigant tecum." The civilization of Europe was formed by the science of the saints; and history, by rendering men acquainted with its character, as contrasted with that resulting from every antagonistic principle, notwithstanding the imperfection and deficiencies of that civilization, which, being on earth, must needs prove defective, leads us to recognize the divine truth of the Catholic religion, which was its source. On this road we are driven to the conclusion that the ancient civilization of Europe rested on divine principles; that it exactly corresponded with the definition of civilization by the noblest philosophers, who say that it is the Christian faith applied to the civil society *; and that the progress of society towards the object which makes man conformable to his religious destiny constitutes true civilization †. Such was the progress, such the civilization contemplated and beheld by our fathers; and what but the Catholic Church can give the inestimable benefit of such a state? Where but in the strict and unmixed school of Catholicism are men practically taught the true end of creatures? Heresy, or the philosophy that fraternizes with it, so far from being able to impart that knowledge, cannot, as experience proves, even preserve it ‡. "History proves that civilization,"

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* Bonald, de l'Origine du Langage.

† De Villeneuve Bargemont, Economie Politique.

‡ De Freudenfeld, Tableau analytique de l'Hist. Univers. 227.

as a great Spanish statesman observes, "has had two phases—the one can be called affirmative, because in it civilization rests on affirmations; it can be called also progressive, because these affirmations on which society rests are truths; and, in fine, it can be called Catholic, because Catholicism embraces in their plenitude all these truths and all these affirmations. The other phase of civilization can be called negative, because it rests exclusively on negations; it can be called decline, because these negations are errors; and it can be called revolutionary, because these errors change themselves at last into revolutions which convulse and overthrow states*." "The destiny of humanity," he says on another occasion, "has received two contrary explanations—that of Catholicism and that of philosophy. The aggregate of each of these explanations constitutes a distinct civilization. Between these two there is an unfathomable abyss, an absolute antagonism. The attempts made to lead to a transaction between them have been, are, and will be always vain. The one is error—the other is truth; the one is evil—the other good. It is necessary to make a supreme choice between them, and, this choice once made, to proclaim the one and to condemn the other in all its parts. Those who float between the two, those who accept the principles of the one and the consequences of the other, as the eclectics, are placed without the category of great intelligences, and are irretrievably condemned to the absurd. The Catholic civilization rests on the doctrine of the fall of man, and the consequent corruption in his intelligence and in his will. The philosophic civilization supposes that the nature of man is perfect, and that his intelligence and will are therefore to be emancipated from all control. Whoever does not accept these conclusions places himself without the philosophic civilization; and whoever does so, without entering into the bosom of Catholicity, walks in the desert, which is without form and void†."

The social and political results of principles opposed to Catholicity cause all men of genius to feel at intervals the want that Byron expressed "of higher things and better days." These are the mournful hours not to be described, too sad for tears, excepting for those of bitter irony, when men groaning underneath the age's yoke may be remarked, like Cicero, to speak Greek, and those who understand them to smile at one another, and shake their heads. Familiar with the road of history, not to a blind hopeless futurity, but to an instructive past, will they then look for saving whatever can be saved. "Tempus et responsiones cor sapientis intelligit‡." It is with the world and with each nation as with each human creature; and, as Warwick

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* Donoso Cortès, Marquis of Valdegamas. † Id. ‡ Eccl. viii.

says,—

> "There is a history in all men's lives
> Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd,
> The which observ'd, a man may prophesy."

Catholicism imparts to historians a prophetic power. "We ought to lend our ears," said a holy French writer, shortly before the late events, "to those hollow distant sounds which announce the tempest—to this trembling of all dismayed vanities which fear agitates like the leaves of the trees, in order that we be not surprised by the thunder-peal which will break over our heads, and the crash of all the greatness which will fall around us, struck by the lightning in a strange overwhelming pile of ruin[*]." He judged solely from the principles of the Catholic religion; and now see how his words were quickly verified. "How many solemn terrible events," exclaimed D'Aguesseau, "in the circle of two years! Has poesy ever hazarded any thing on the stage more astonishing than these revolutions, these incredible catastrophes, which have passed before us? Has the boldest fable ever invented what simple truth has caused us to behold, when the truth has so far exceeded the probable?" What would be his consternation now? Yet, amidst these vicissitudes and prognostics, the Catholic mind is historically as well as theologically taught to feel assured that Catholicism, which preceded past times by the eternity of the counsels of God, exercises dominion over all future times, because they are future, and that when come they will be past, while it must reign with Him who is ever the same, and whose years can never fail.

On the road of historians men feel, therefore, secure from being deluded by the sophists—pleni vetustatis suæ, who think the world is to begin afresh; as St. Augustin says, "Adhuc in præteritis et futuris rerum motibus cor eorum volitat, et adhuc vanum est." These boasts of new eras are recognized upon the road of history to be only symptoms of the old world's dotage, and there is heard a voice reminding men that the last, and consequently newest era, will be that when the oldest delusions will be revived in multitudinous confusion to fill the measure of the moral prevarication which will usher in the final doom.

Such, then, are some of the avenues to the Catholic Church presented along the road of historians. But do all those from whom this road derives its title profit by them? do they advance to the centre thus historically revealed? or do they direct others to proceed on to it? So far otherwise, that a profound observer represents them as having been, for the last three hundred years, conspirators to mislead all who trust them; and it is certain that the popular notions of history at the present

[*] St. Foix, Les Heures Sérieuses d'un Jeune Homme.

ay are but too well calculated to prove the extent of their deplorable success. "Every where now we can observe," as St. Augustin says, "that it is one thing from a woody summit to behold the country of peace, and not find the way to it, and in vain to endeavour to reach it through pathless places, misled by fugitive deserters laying snares for us, having for their chief the lion and the dragon; and that it is another to hold on pursuing the right track, having for guide the celestial Emperor through tracks where those who desert the heavenly warfare cannot lay in wait or slay *."

Nevertheless, before taking leave of this part of the forest to strike into other roads, we should remark the direction which may be obtained from a careful scrutiny of historians themselves, whose faults as well as merits are not without yielding useful direction to those who have been advancing to truth by the solemn avenue of historical meditation.

When we see a wanderer, some unbruised youth with unstuffed brain, addressing himself to a modern historian, and prepared to follow whithersoever he leads, men who are profound in history will involuntarily exclaim, Heaven send him a better guiding spirit to the bourn where he may couch his limbs, and have his visions golden. For, in the first place, these writers are in general superficial and incompetent. They may indeed take upon them the mystery of things as if they were God's spies; but they eminently incur the miseries which St. Bernard points out as incident to men bewildered from the want of religious faith, saying, "Error siquidem est humanæ mentis, non modo bonum putare malum, et malum bonum, aut verum falsum, et è converso; sed etiam certa recipere pro dubiis, dubia pro certis †." An historian of this class may see facts, but the principle escapes him—"Rem vidit," as St. Augustin says, "causam non vidit." From not following Aristotle's advice to set out from the centre of things, the traveller through the domains of history is soon lost in a labyrinth where "he sees before him, nor here, nor here, nor what ensues, but have a fog in them, that he cannot look through." He finds himself like one who visits an old castle of the middle ages, where in obscure passages of unknown length, tending he knows not whither, suddenly some iron doors, without the appearance of any arms to move them, are closed with a crash that echoes like the thunder, and he is inclosed in darkness, a prey to any enemy that may choose to make him a prisoner for the rest of his life. A great reader is not necessarily a learned or safe historic guide. To

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* Confess. vii.

† S. Bernard. Epist. 85.

estimate an author from whom he draws, he must have weighed his erudition, state of life, morals, journeys, age, studies, experience, fidelity, accuracy, freedom from jealousy, natural judgment, and other things*. He must know what he has retracted, what he has perhaps expunged from later editions; what since his time has been proved false; what has been discovered by subsequent research. If such knowledge were required from historians, the number of professed guides upon this road would not be as great as it is at present.

Again: these guides are to be suspected, in consequence of their inclination to substitute fancies and theories for history. Prescott, qualifying Sismondi's work on the Italian republics as among the most remarkable historical achievements of our time, whether we consider the dexterous management of the narrative or admirable spirit of philosophy by which it is illumined, proceeds to say, "that by keeping his principle in view he has been able to solve much that was hitherto dark in his subject, and, if he has occasionally sacrificed something to theory, he has, on the whole, pursued the investigation in a truly philosophical manner, and arrived at results the most cheering to humanity †." Such candid confessions are not to be expected always; though the dexterity and the steady adherence to theory may be found in many, as in Prescott himself.

"Reasons and opinions concerning acts," as is remarked, "are not history. Acts themselves alone are history; and they are the exclusive property neither of Hume, nor Gibbon, nor Voltaire. Tell me the acts, O historian, and I will not be fooled by you into opinions that you please to impose, to disbelieve what you think improbable or impossible. His opinion who does not see spiritual agency is not worth any man's reading; he who rejects a fact because it is improbable must reject all history, and retain doubt only." All men, indeed, seek to prop their fancies by appeals to history—

"Puisque nos illusions même
Sont pleines d'ombres d'autre fois;"

but the paradox which passion causes can deceive few men long. "Vehementes habeat repentinos impetus, spatio interposito et causa cognita, consenescat ‡." Protestant paradoxes and philosophic paradoxes are, sooner or later, left to slumber with forgotten things. What man, in full possession of his senses, can

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* Dom Legipontius de Adornanda Bibliotheca.

† Ferd. and Isabella, ii. 304.

‡ Cicero pro Cluentio.

trust men who obstinately cling to either?—men with whom it is even superfluous to show facts, since

——— " You may as well
Forbid the sea for to obey the moon
As shake the fabric of his folly, whose
Foundation is piled upon such faith."

Inconsistency again exposes all these guides to just suspicion. Thus, to take an instance only from one writer, not unconnected with the ruin of his country, Lamartine in one page says, that Mirabeau was a man without virtue and without principles; and shortly after he speaks of his great soul. He sets out by affirming that the revolution was irresistible, and shortly after he says that Mirabeau could have prevented it.

Generally, while contradicting faith, writers of the fatalist school violate common sense by their doctrine of necessity, explaining all great events by alleging some imagined influence of periods, as when Prescott, speaking of the conquest of Navarre, says, " Particular events might accelerate or retàrd this result, but it was not in the power of human genius to avert its final consummation." They use such phrases as children in the street employ certain tunes, seeming so pleased to have once caught them, that they can never cease repeating them till the whole air is surfeited with the sound. Again, historians who avow or betray indifference to religious truth are necessarily guides to be suspected, since it is impossible to separate historical events from its influence. The president, Fauchet, writing in the reign of Henry IV., to whom he dedicates his work, styles Queen Elizabeth, who was the bitter enemy of the sole religion he believed in, ceste magnanime et sage Royne d'Angleterre*. Pierre Mathieu adopts the same strain respecting her, and extends his admiration no less to James, comparing the latter with Solomon, and Alexander the Great. Such writers might be referred to the old monastic discipline, and to the chapter, De Gravi Culpa, beginning, " Si quis culpam suam vel alterius defenderit †." They might be referred to the high and noble, or, if they will, subjective style of St. Gregory of Tours, who begins his great history with these words:—" Scripturus bella regum cum gentibus adversis, martyrum cum paganis, Ecclesiarum cum hæreticis, prius fidem meam proferre cupio, ut qui legerit me non dubitet esse Catholicum ‡." In regard to morality, it is a baseless and insane criticism that would condemn in an historian the expression of a preference of Catholicism to heresy, requiring him to treat every subject in what Germans designate as

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* Fleur de la Maison de Charlemagne, 132.

† Constitut. Frat. Ord. Prædicat.

‡ Hist. lib. i.

the objective mode; and, with respect to the interests of historical truth, it is no less detrimental, since, as an able writer well observes,—"For good or for evil, principles are serious things, though to many they appear vastly unimportant. Principles seem very innocent things, very barren, very abstract, very unpractical; but in truth they are the beams and pillars on which institutions are raised, or the wedges by which they are split and made to yawn with ruin. Principles are fruitful things, especially bad principles. In the corruption of human nature they grow and spread themselves like weeds in a neglected soil. A bad principle lies dormant for a time, and seems dead, when in truth it is only waiting for a proper opportunity to put out signs of life and assume a baleful activity. Then, truly, it displays the full vigour and malignity of its evil nature, and seldom gets eradicated until it has attracted a fearful responsibility to the heads of its authors or allowers. When evil is predicted in case of the admission of a bad principle, it is usual to run down the predictor as an alarmist; as too sensitive; too suspicious; too prone to think evil of his fellow-men*." But on the road of historians men become sensible of the consequences, and so pass on to the central truth, where the principles themselves, of evil, are overthrown. There are, however, it must be admitted, early as well as recent examples of the neglect of good principles, by men who offer themselves to Catholics as historical guides through the forest of life. Thus Mathieu Paris seems to oscillate continually between the Pope and the Emperor, constrained to acknowledge the justice of the former, but so far yielding to his natural bias as to speak of the latter in language only belonging to one who held him innocent, as when he exclaims, "O what solicitude, what cares of all kinds, distracted the heart of Frederick II., obliged to defend the empire at all points†:" and, shortly after, the force of truth extorts from him the words, which change nothing of his appreciation of events,—"Frederick, the formidable hammer of the Church." Then he ascribes to the holiest popes the most absurd avowals of a desire to extort money from England‡; while he admits that the Holy See, judging from the report of his irreproachable life and experience in religion, makes choice of himself as her dear son, to be sent to reform the monks of Holm, in the diocese of Drontheim§. In 1246, he admits that two wretches were sent to Rome, bribed by Frederick II., in order to kill the Pope, after the manner of the assassins; and in 1247, he says, Frederick II., "with his natural generosity, spared the Milanese." Again, he speaks of St. Louis, "not fearing the anger of the God of vengeance, and following

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* Lucas.

† Ad ann. 1241.

‡ Ad ann. 1246.

§ Ad ann. 1248.

the counsels of a Norman rather than the rule of justice*." He complains of the Dominicans and Franciscans for saying mass and hearing confessions, to the prejudice of other priests, though he records that some, fearing the drunkenness of their parish priests, preferred them; and he acknowledges that, at the Pope's word, wherever displeasure was caused in others, they withdrew immediately. He complains, "that whereas formerly, courtiers splendidly clad were found in king's palaces, now, in consequence of the preachers and minors becoming the counsellors of kings, one saw monks, in a coarse habit, filling their royal houses and chambers." Helias, the miserable instrument of Frederick II., he styles a preacher of great renown, without adding a word of censure†. He complains (and he is never so eloquent as in complaints) of the friars not being cloistered, and, without a word to indicate the reason of their not being so, confounds them with the execrable wanderers condemned by St. Benedict; and yet, shortly after, alluding to the mere fact of his becoming one of these same friars, he says, "that Walter Mauclerc, once bishop of Carlisle, after having resigned the burden of the world, passed the last years of his life in a laudable manner‡." The Protestant, Mathieu Parker, in becoming the first editor of Mathieu Paris, extolling him as one the string of whose shoe the poor brother Rishanger, who wrote a continuation free from his predecessor's faults, was not worthy to unloose, thought, no doubt, that the sneers at the Holy See, and the other weak distorted views, in which the writer of St. Alban's indulged occasionally, would turn aside many readers from the centre, which he was anxious to fly from. But men already advanced upon the road of history regard such passages only as proving their author to have been, after all, but a gross mindless writer, or else a hovering temporizer, that could with his eyes at once see good and evil, inclining to them both.

In later times arose a school of writers, who systematically worked upon the same passions that seemed to exist in an incipient state in that earlier historian, and placed with a more scientific hand obstructions in the solemn and gracious avenues which are presented on the road of history. But it is not difficult to perceive that on this road they are dangerous company; for who are—even the Spanish historians, that are cited by them as the sole sharp-sighted critics §—to disprove the consent of earlier writers, in admitting the supernatural action in the achievements of their countrymen under the old Catholic monarchy? They are men of the eighteenth century, like Masdieu, who end by denying even the existence of the Cid, though the dispassionate judgment of Müller can see no reason

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* Ad ann. 1235. † Ad ann. 1239. ‡ Ad ann. 1248.

§ Prescott, Hist. of Ferd. and Is., Introduct.

whatever for a doubt respecting it. "That disdainful criticism, so habitual to the science of Protestants, supposes in the last analysis," as the Père Cahier observes, "a certain contempt for men. One might say that the heresies of the sixteenth century have implanted in their disciples a firm and exaggerated persuasion of human folly and wickedness. Testimony is nothing to them until there has been an ulterior revision of the question: and what is there that has not been called in question? But I should wish to learn," he continues, "where a man derives this intrepid confidence in himself, which makes him believe every thing doubtful till his own judgment has pronounced on it. Those who preceded him were apparently of the same nature as himself; and, if they were all deceived, what is this privilege which distinguishes him, all of a sudden, from the common mass? Were common sense and good faith unknown in the world before you came into it? and, if so, what guarantee have you for possessing them? You must be resigned to partake in the justice of your predecessors, or fear that you are yourself in delusion when affecting this strange monopoly*." "United on this road at least with Protestants, the Jansenist sect," as a great living author observes, "declared an impious war against all the gracious traditions gathered by the Church in its long passage through ages; and, as it endeavoured to reconstruct dogmas and morals according to its own likeness, so it would also modify history, by making it resemble itself. But its efforts were in vain. The Voltairean philosophy became the tomb of Jansenism; and on the ruins of that philosophy the ancient wisdom has been re-established by a fervent school, whose traditions and sympathies connect them with happier times†." Returning to the more general characteristics of the men who falsely claim this road as their own, we meet with historians whose sagacity consists in bringing accusations generally, and whose love of justice in requiring them to be implicitly received. In regard to that enthusiasm which has been noted as the best result of history, these men designedly fail; their fervour is reserved for occasions when they can offer or relate some insult directed against the Holy See. For other subjects they might adopt as a formula the words of the American, Prescott, who says of the recovery of Granada from the Moors,—"It is impossible, at this day, to contemplate these events with the triumphant swell of exultation with which they are recorded by contemporary chroniclers." Impossible for them, no doubt it is; but we should be grateful for the hint, and forsake their company. "Porsenna agreed to make peace," says Plutarch, "less, I believe, through fear of the three hundred conspirators,

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* Monolog. de Bourges, 135.

† D. Guéranger, Hist. de S. Cécile.

than through admiration at the virtue of the Romans." Such would not be their conclusion. They converse, indeed, with ideal personages of their own invention; but they are not like the Cyrus of Xenophon, which Scipio Africanus could never put out of his hands. Their object is to paint vice, and to involve just men in its ignominy. This road, we must acknowledge, has never been wholly free from such guides. St. Gregory of Tours writing to Felix of Namnetica, says,—"Oh, if Marseilles were to have you for its bishop, never would its ships bring oil or other produce, but only paper, in order that you might have more means for writing to defame the virtuous*." "These are blind leaders of the blind," says St. Anthony of Padua, "who go like blind men, feeling the acts of others, which they cannot see, because what is bright seems to them always obscure and dark. For always in every good deed they find a defect, either in the manner, or in the substance, or in the intention. Palpavimus, they might say, sicut cæci parietem, et quasi absque oculis attrectavimus; impie egimus meridiè quasi in tenebris†; for they find darkness in bright and lucid deeds‡." Many historians now resemble the Genevese painter, Benedetto Castiglione, who, like Bassano also, sought in an historical or even sacred subject only an occasion to represent irrational beasts. They tell a fearful story! Perhaps the truth was worse; but, if they were honourable, they would have told this tale for virtue, not for such an end as that they seek. "What is it," says an English author, who indeed by the same words condemns himself, "to turn the sins of Christendom into a mimical mockery; to rip up the maddest vices with a laughing countenance, especially where no better teaching is adjoined? Who can wish to follow the maker, or rather the anti-creator of that universal foolery, who like that other principal of the Manichees, the arch evil one, when he had looked upon all that he had made and mapped out, could say no other but contrary to the divine mouth, that it was all very foolish." The Catholic Church has often had, and will always have for accusers, non qui odio inimicitiarum ad accusandum, sed qui studio accusandi ad inimicitias descenderunt§. "You have not found facts to substantiate any charge affecting the integrity of Catholicism; sed, historicus doctus," as St. Augustin says, ironically, "magnum aliquid invenisti quod contra Dei testimonia proferendum putares||; for you say that crimes have abounded, and you say truly; but your conclusion is not logical; and independent of the religious cause," "it is the mark of a bad soul in an historian," as Pierre Mathieu remarks, "when

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* Hist. lib. v. 5. † Isa. lix.

‡ B. Antonii de Pad. Serm. Fer. iv. Hebd. iii. in Quad.

§ Cicero pro Murena. || St. August. epist. xlviii.

amidst doubtful things, which can be viewed in a diverse manner, he stops always at the worst. He should say all that has been said, or else say nothing*." As a great French philosopher observes,—"A man gives no proof of superiority because he perceives the world under an odious point of view." Do you ask what is wanting in the men who are now thought to excel in historical criticism? Let a Pagan answer:—"First, integrity and singular innocence. Nihil est enim, quod minus ferendum sit, quam rationem ab altero vitæ reposcere eum, qui non possit suæ reddere†." Hence we find, in the canons which treat de accusatoribus clericorum, this most prudent injunction,—"ut accusatoris quæratur fides et conversatio‡." To what revelations would the observance of such discipline now lead, and how useful would it prove upon the present road! Some historians might then acquire a different kind of value from that which the unwary thought them to possess; for, as St. Jerome says, citing the words of St. Ignatius the martyr, which each reader will then repeat with a personal reference, "iniquitas eorum mea doctrina est."

Again, the misrepresentations of historians, whose hatred especially cherished against the Catholic Church is transparent through every page, so far from raising any serious obstacle upon this road, ought rather to be received as furnishing an additional signal pointing to the central truth. Antiphon avowed that he published his libel against Alcibiades in consequence of the hatred which he bore him. If modern historians are less frank in acknowledging their motives, they cannot so disguise themselves as to pass for not having written because they hated Catholicity. Popes, pontiffs, priests, kings, or even republics, if for a moment showing zeal to maintain the ancient faith, all are pricked in their black sentence and proscription. This hatred is the soul of all their criticism. Voltaire—for I am unwilling to refer to living examples nearer home—endeavoured to hold up Corneille to ridicule, for the reason, as a French author says, that he wished to laugh down the manners of the middle ages. His hatred of the poet arose from his having no taste for the grand sentiments of the ancient world. The Cid wearied him§. Many assertions of historians who attack the Catholic Church can only be explained by reference to the principles of mystic theology, which direct us to Catholicity as to their fountain; for, if we only consider the aberrations to which the human intelligence is naturally subject, such systematic hatred prompting men of undoubted genius to publish writings, full of turpitude

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* Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. i.

† Cicero in Q. Cæcilium.

‡ Regino Abb. Prum. de Eccles. Discip. lib. ii. 443.

§ Phil. Chasles, Etudes sur l'Espagne.

and of absolute folly, against the faith to which the world is indebted for all that raises it above Paganism, would be inexplicable. The phenomenon falls into the order of facts directing to the fear of God, as when Pope Gregory, in answer to the letter of the Emperor Frederick II., says,—"To this man, without doubt, the divine indignation has refused the power of acknowledging the truth, and of speaking according to justice[*]." It is worthy of remark, however, that historians of this class can trace their path from nearly the beginning of the world; for "among the Ishudes, one of the nations of the central parts of Eastern Asia, we find," says Schlegel, "if we may so speak, an inverted history of Cain; mention is made of the enmity between the first two brothers of mankind, but all the circumstances are set forth in a party-spirit favourable to Cain. It is said that the elder brother acquired wealth by mines; but that the younger, becoming envious, drove him away, and forced him to take refuge in the East."

Finally, in leaving this road, we should observe the extraordinary contrast which is presented to these writers, at whom we have thus cast a hasty glance, by the ancient Catholic historians, and remark how secure, after all, are the great avenues to truth by historical facts, notwithstanding the efforts to obstruct them which are made by interested or passionate men, mistaking, for a light to enlighten the world, some delusive emanation from a heart that is not pure. "Paulus Emilius is indeed a most eloquent writer," says the President Fauchet, "mais jayme encores plus la verité que j'aprends des bonnes gens du temps plus fideles qu'eux, encores que mauvais latineurs[†]." Niebuhr, indeed, says that he is not of the opinion of those who attach a very high value to the writers of the middle ages, though Eginhard, Wittekind of Corbey, and Lambertus of Aschaffenburg, form exceptions, on account of their having taken the ancients as their models. Yet others will be of opinion, that many a monastic historian, without having done so, might be a copy to these younger times; which, followed well, would demonstrate them now but goers backward; and that many a forgotten Catholic author might now bear away the palm from all our brilliant contemporaries. They, at least, are never bewildered as to their main object, nor deficient in the power of surveying the whole of things,—involved in the darkness which Niebuhr ascribes in this respect to Livy, who "can never say," as he observes, "whether persons acted wisely or foolishly; nor whether they were right or wrong." "The greatest praise for an historian," says Pierre Mathieu, "is that he be a good man. This is greater

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[*] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1239.

[†] Fleur de la Maison de Charlemagne, 222.

than that he be learned and discreet; for a good conscience is no less necessary in his walk than great learning. The first thought which comes into my mind when I take up my pen is, that I will say nothing true in a cowardly style, and nothing false with boldness—de ne rien dire de vrai laschement, rien de faux hardiment. The first and most important end of history is to render bad men good, and good men better*."

In these old Catholic pages, too, are vices chronicled, but with what a different object! "I have mingled in my narration," says Jocelin of Brakelond in his history, "some evil things, to serve as a warning; and some good things, for the sake of experience." The cloistral discipline extended to historic labours, with the limitations which the nature of the subject requires, was not perhaps without its literary value. Some one speaking of the sins of another brother, Masseus replied, "Consider the virtues of men rather than their vices; for if you are yourself bad, by considering the deeds of the good to-day, and having before your eyes good deeds to-morrow, of necessity you will become good, and if you are good you will become better; but, by considering the deeds of the evil, if you are good you will become bad, and if bad, worse†." It is at all events worthy of remark, that no biographers respecting profligate and infamous characters can be found in the old Catholic literature; whereas compilations abound in it resembling the history of the Cid as written by Father Lopez de Frias of the monastery of Cardenna. In their pages men are directed to see and to adore God at every turn. "The conspirators," says the historian of Charles the Good, "resolved to kill him; for we must piously believe that God wished to give him rest, and to punish our sins. 'O mira in omnibus omnipotentis Dei dispensatio‡.'" Above all, that no scandalous reports should be transmitted, was a law of the Catholic historians, from which even Mathieu Paris did not dare to avow himself exempt: "I am ashamed," he says, "to mention the infamous rumours that some propagated against the Queen Blanche; for it is impious to give credit to this calumny spread by jealous spirits§." "This year," he says, "a great discord arose between the monks of Winchester and the convent of Glastonbury. I have not judged it proper to insert in this book the history of their quarrels, or to transmit them to the memory of men; for I think it better to pass over such things in silence||." In the same spirit St. Gregory of Tours writes of certain priests who spoke against each other in the palace of the

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* Hist. de Hen. IV. advertissement.

† Buchius, Liber Aureus Conformit. Vit. b. Pat. F. ad Vitam J. C. 63.

‡ F. Gualt. Tarvanens. Vit. S. Car. Mart.

§ Ad ann. 1226.

|| Ad ann. 1257.

king; "Quibus de rebus," he says, "multi ridebant, nonnulli vero qui alacrioris erant scientiæ lamentabantur, cur inter sacerdotes Domini taliter zizania diaboli pullularent *." The old Catholic historians were cautious of exaggerating inferences from any one point of view. "I can produce innumerable instances," says Salvian; "but I fear lest, while I endeavour to prove the thing, I should seem to weave history †." Humble men, undoubtedly, were in general such guides, and to the humble did they offer themselves, thinking it vain to write for any but the good. "We have decreed," says one of them, "to transmit in writing a narrative of the many and great tribulations of this monastery —ut noverint qui pii sunt, præsentes et futuri ‡;" but one quality they possessed, which all must acknowledge to be of no small value on this road—they were independent by position and by character; they disdained to flatter. "Who can better write the history of these events," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "than one like you, placed on an eminence, who is under no necessity of either suppressing the truth or of varnishing over a falsehood §?" Such was the monk whom not even local tyrants or mighty kings could influence while transmitting a knowledge of contemporary events to posterity. He was not like "the historian of reptiles," who to justify a despot would have men renounce their reason, fall into ecstasies before what fills them with contempt or horror—congratulating a tyrant and yet afraid of his own courage in daring to exist as a member of the state without his orders. "That indefatigable flatterer," says a voice from beyond the tomb, "had written well enough upon oviparous animals, but he could not hold himself erect." "You always thought," says Cicero to Verres, "especially in Sicily, that you had provided sufficiently for your own defence by forbidding things to be committed to public letters, or what was related by compelling men to efface ‖." There was no such security in the middle ages, as the chronicles of St. Denis can bear witness. How noble is the courage of the monastic historians, when contrasted with the fears even of men worthy and respectable in later times. When Henry IV. sent to his own historiographe, Pierre Mathieu, to express his royal displeasure on account of some verses which he had written on the death of the Duc de Biron, "It was for me," says that writer, "to protest that I had said nothing, and written nothing against the king's justice to regret the death of the Duke of Biron ¶." The cloister nou-

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* Hist. lib. viii. 7.

† De Guber. Dei, lib. i. 9.

‡ De Trib. Majoris Monast.

§ Epist. lib. iv. 22.

‖ In Ver. ii. lib. i.

¶ Lib. vi.

rished spirits of a different temper; and, for the honour of St. Alban's, it must be acknowledged, that not even Mathieu Paris presents, in this respect, an exception. "The condition of historians," he says, "is painful; for, if they tell the truth, they irritate men; and, if they commit lies to writing, the Lord, who separates flatterers from true men, will hold them reprobate *." With this consciousness of the dilemma, it is clear his choice was well made; for, while observing that he was dear to the king, Henry III., who had a singular love for his person, he shows no mercy to his faults †." "The lord king," he says, "came to St. Alban's the fifth before the nones of March, prolonging his stay a whole week; and, as he had constantly for companion at his table in the palace, and in his bed-chamber, the writer of this book, he directed with as much care as affability the pen of the writer ‡." "Never did any king of England, not even Offa himself, nor all the kings together, present such rich tapestry to the monastery of St. Alban as did this present king, all whose gifts of tapestry, rings, and jewels are enumerated in a book which is kept here." He repeatedly mentions these presents; but all this does not prevent him from fearlessly reproaching the king whenever his deeds were reprehensible. Writers of a certain school at one time attempted to undermine the credit of the ancient Catholic historians, by alleging facts which tend rather to enhance than to diminish it in the judgment of impartial men. It seemed as if in their courts the evidence of saints was not receivable. But, "if by the mouth of two or three every word should stand, how much more," says St. Gertrude, "must stand what is recorded of the saints, when the testimony of so many, and of such men, cannot be rejected without impiety § ?" The acts of martyrs, the intervention of the saints in profane history, so far from weakening, add to its force, to its importance, and credibility. "Non enim vos estis loquentes sed Spiritus Sanctus," is the eternal word addressed to them; and, therefore, as the Père de Ligny observes, the responses of such men, frequently taken into old history, should be regarded even in some sort as a second scripture, after so authentic a promise of divine inspiration.

But we cannot remain longer here, for we are arrived near another region of the forest which will occupy many wanderings. We may remark, in conclusion, that after all, whatever be our guides, these great solemn avenues to the Catholic Church, formed by nature through the forest of life, along the track

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[*] Ad ann. 1254.

[†] Ad ann. 1248.

[‡] Ad ann. 1257.

[§] Vit. et Revelat. S. Gertrud. Abb. lib. i. 6.

which is followed by historians, can be discovered without assistance from any of them. They are too vast to be concealed by obstructions which the passions of men can interpose, and too deeply rooted in antiquity to be effaced by the errors of any generation from human memory. You complain of wanting certainty when led by great Catholic historians; but, in the judgment of men really intelligent, you gain nothing by setting them aside, for Catholicism stands historically revealed upon the road we have been following, by popular usages, by names, by old law books, by seasons, by calendars, by edifices, by the structure of towns, by the titles of churches, by the proverbs, by the prayers, by the hymns, by the very songs of every nation that has ever received the light of Christ. Its truth is proclaimed, in fine, by that unknown voice which belongs to no one, and which issues from nations and from ages. The knowledge of great supreme events does not depend upon any learned man taking up his pen to transmit them; nor can their fame be arrested by the systematic efforts of any sophist or any school, however ingenious in their malice,—

"Ce que l'enfant dit au foyer
Est tost congnu jusqu'au moustier."

"If," as a living author beautifully says, "nature herself will be reported; if all things are engaged in writing their history; if the rolling rock leaves its scratch on the mountain, the river its channel in the soil, the animal its bones in the stratum, the fern its modest epitaph in the coal; if not a foot steps along the ground but prints in characters more or less lasting a map of its march; if the ground is all memoranda and signatures, and every object covered over with hints which speak to the intelligent;" it is not the great historical events which the providence of God ordains for the instruction of the human race, and for leading the thoughtful to his Church, that can be kept secret from posterity. If deserted by others, peasants and children will render their memory immortal, as in the instance of Omberto's destiny; for, when relating to Dante how he fell, he adds,—

———— "By what fate, Sienna's sons,
Each child in Campagnatico can tell [*]."

Sophists for a moment may attract a crowd of listeners; but the end crowns all—and that old common arbitrator, Time, is sure one day to scatter them, with their thoughts.

But now the vocal woods seem to summon us to survey a different region. So, leaving the ways which answer to the spread-

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[*] Purg. 11.

ing revelations of eternal things, we approach the more secret and mysterious recesses of this forest, of which St. Augustin says, "Educavit me Deus, et deduxit in angustis itineribus per quæ pauci ambulant." The shade of these melancholy boughs becomes more profound than ever. In the dell of yon dark chestnut-trees is a stone seat, a solitude; the ghost of peace will not desert the spot. There branches off the new road to be followed on the morrow.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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